

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 2019 • BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Stack's Bowers
GALLERIES

The Official Auction of the
Whitman Coin & Collectibles Expo

The Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Winter Baltimore Expo

November 13-16 & 18-20, 2019
Baltimore, Maryland
PRICES REALIZED

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium



Lot No. Price Realized

The Winter 2019 Official Baltimore Auction

Session 1
Numismatic Americana
Wednesday, November 13
Room 308
5:00 PM ET
Lots 1-262

1 408.00
2 360.00
3 432.00
4 750.00
6 288.00
7 960.00
8 660.00
9 780.00
10 552.00
12 408.00
13 264.00
14 456.00
16 660.00
17 528.00
18 1,440.00
19 660.00
20 204.00
21 1,860.00
22 132.00
23 480.00
24 552.00
25 26,400.00
26 456.00
27 384.00
28 5,040.00
29 780.00
30 312.00
31 9,000.00
32 264.00

Lot No. Price Realized

33 6,600.00
34 2,040.00
35 20,400.00
36 480.00
37 480.00
38 110.00
39 408.00
40 216.00
41 192.00
42 3,360.00
43 11,400.00
44 2,640.00
45 504.00
46 630.00
47 4,800.00
48 528.00
49 576.00
50 504.00
51 720.00
52 228.00
53 504.00
54 552.00
55 720.00
56 90.00
57 312.00
58 480.00
59 75.00
60 70.00
61 85.00
62 60.00
63 336.00
64 456.00
65 65.00
66 264.00
67 336.00
68 690.00
69 480.00
70 8,400.00
71 528.00
72 288.00

Lot No. Price Realized

73 216.00
74 90.00
75 40.00
76 80.00
77 45.00
78 45.00
79 85.00
80 80.00
81 780.00
82 3,600.00
83 1,440.00
84 1,080.00
85 384.00
86 2,040.00
87 1,560.00
88 1,920.00
89 75.00
90 168.00
91 480.00
92 5,280.00
93 1,320.00
94 780.00
95 900.00
96 720.00
97 228.00
98 168.00
99 1,320.00
100 1,920.00
101 780.00
102 10,200.00
103 1,140.00
104 28,800.00
105 228.00
106 5,760.00
107 480.00
108 31,200.00
109 11,400.00
110 2,640.00
111 960.00
112 2,040.00

Lot No. Price Realized

113 528.00
114 1,200.00
115 325.20
116 1,080.00
118 960.00
119 2,040.00
120 384.00
121 1,020.00
122 1,560.00
123 480.00
124 480.00
125 312.00
126 264.00
127 660.00
128 3,840.00
129 132.00
130 2,400.00
131 2,760.00
132 2,160.00
133 1,920.00
134 288.00
135 408.00
136 456.00
137 9,000.00
138 8,400.00
140 960.00
141 168.00
142 22,800.00
143 720.00
144 960.00
145 132.00
146 720.00
147 528.00
148 408.00
149 1,560.00
150 456.00
151 1,800.00
152 1,200.00
153 1,170.00
154 1,320.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
155	528.00	220	115.00	1012	7,500.00	1078	432.00	1160	1,140.00
156	480.00	221	216.00	1013	1,680.00	1079	360.00	1161	5,280.00
157	1,200.00	222	240.00	1014	7,200.00	1080	690.00	1164	4,560.00
158	384.00	223	384.00	1015	1,800.00	1081	336.00	1165	1,560.00
159	1,200.00	224	3,000.00	1016	2,280.00	1082	408.00	1166	2,400.00
160	504.00	225	840.00	1017	5,040.00	1083	1,020.00	1168	1,800.00
161	480.00	226	504.00	1018	2,280.00	1084	384.00	1170	1,680.00
162	408.00	227	432.00	1019	900.00	1085	432.00	1171	2,880.00
163	288.00	228	156.00	1020	1,320.00	1086	312.00	1172	960.00
164	960.00	229	600.00	1021	1,800.00	1087	1,020.00	1173	2,760.00
165	552.00	230	408.00	1022	1,140.00	1088	1,140.00	1174	2,040.00
166	264.00	231	456.00	1023	840.00	1089	840.00	1175	1,440.00
167	264.00	232	288.00	1024	1,020.00	1090	660.00	1176	1,800.00
168	660.00	233	360.00	1025	1,320.00	1091	660.00	1177	960.00
169	480.00	234	264.00	1026	5,040.00	1092	1,800.00	1178	1,320.00
170	336.00	235	3,120.00	1027	1,200.00	1093	456.00	1179	4,800.00
171	960.00	236	408.00	1028	504.00	1094	1,080.00	1180	3,120.00
172	384.00	237	312.00	1029	10,800.00	1095	660.00	1181	1,560.00
173	264.00	238	900.00	1030	7,200.00	1096	7,800.00	1183	3,120.00
174	1,440.00	239	144.00	1031	5,040.00	1097	1,500.00	1186	1,080.00
175	132.00	240	504.00	1032	576.00	1098	2,880.00	1187	1,560.00
176	228.00	241	840.00	1033	720.00	1099	1,170.00	1188	3,120.00
177	360.00	242	1,080.00	1034	2,160.00	1101	1,680.00	1189	1,320.00
178	1,080.00	243	1,320.00	1035	3,600.00	1102	2,400.00	1190	1,440.00
179	264.00	244	264.00	1036	780.00	1103	1,560.00	1191	2,400.00
180	432.00	245	1,680.00	1037	408.00	1104	6,000.00	1192	3,600.00
181	600.00	246	576.00	1038	720.00	1105	1,020.00	1193	1,200.00
182	432.00	247	960.00	1039	3,840.00	1106	4,800.00	1194	1,620.00
183	504.00	248	312.00	1040	2,640.00	1107	1,920.00	1195	1,560.00
184	288.00	249	360.00	1041	3,840.00	1109	1,560.00	1196	1,020.00
185	1,920.00	250	504.00	1042	552.00	1110	1,050.00	1197	1,080.00
186	1,200.00	251	360.00	1043	4,560.00	1112	1,260.00	1198	4,560.00
187	70.00	252	528.00	1044	780.00	1113	2,760.00	1199	1,020.00
188	336.00	253	780.00	1045	3,120.00	1114	1,080.00	1200	1,320.00
189	228.00	254	576.00	1046	552.00	1115	1,680.00	1201	2,640.00
190	432.00	255	480.00	1047	780.00	1116	3,600.00	1202	870.00
191	240.00	256	456.00	1048	1,500.00	1118	1,020.00	1203	2,280.00
192	1,200.00	257	840.00	1049	870.00	1119	2,640.00	1204	3,480.00
193	660.00	258	1,020.00	1050	1,560.00	1121	1,020.00	1205	1,920.00
194	204.00	259	900.00	1051	2,040.00	1122	2,280.00	1206	3,120.00
195	192.00	260	288.00	1052	720.00	1125	690.00	1207	1,680.00
196	1,140.00	261	630.00	1053	900.00	1127	2,220.00	1208	4,800.00
197	780.00	262	1,140.00	1054	432.00	1128	2,280.00	1209	3,120.00
198	110.00			1055	2,640.00	1129	1,680.00	1210	2,400.00
199	480.00			1056	6,000.00	1130	1,440.00	1211	1,800.00
200	3,120.00			1057	2,040.00	1131	3,840.00	1214	1,080.00
201	312.00			1058	432.00	1133	1,680.00	1215	3,120.00
202	780.00			1059	660.00	1135	5,760.00	1216	2,880.00
203	456.00			1060	990.00	1137	5,040.00	1217	2,640.00
204	132.00			1061	1,200.00	1138	2,400.00	1218	11,400.00
205	264.00			1062	432.00	1139	5,760.00	1219	1,680.00
206	110.00			1063	1,020.00	1140	4,320.00	1220	1,080.00
207	144.00			1064	600.00	1141	3,120.00	1221	2,640.00
208	1,200.00	1001	1,740.00	1065	1,260.00	1142	2,400.00	1222	552.00
209	1,320.00	1002	1,680.00	1066	840.00	1144	3,600.00	1223	840.00
210	960.00	1003	1,320.00	1067	504.00	1146	5,520.00	1224	2,400.00
211	780.00	1004	2,640.00	1068	432.00	1147	1,560.00	1225	2,640.00
212	456.00	1005	5,040.00	1069	660.00	1149	240.00	1226	1,440.00
213	900.00	1006	1,680.00	1070	480.00	1150	3,120.00	1227	1,440.00
214	456.00	1007	1,020.00	1071	480.00	1151	1,020.00	1228	1,020.00
215	660.00	1008	8,400.00	1073	360.00	1152	3,840.00	1231	1,140.00
216	312.00	1009	4,320.00	1074	312.00	1154	4,320.00	1232	3,600.00
217	312.00	1010	2,160.00	1075	1,140.00	1156	1,680.00	1233	2,880.00
218	204.00	1011	2,640.00	1076	432.00	1157	6,000.00	1234	1,740.00
219	408.00			1077	504.00	1158	3,240.00	1235	1,440.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized
1236	4,800.00	1318	660.00	1399	1,440.00	2041	1,020.00	2106	126,000.00
1237	3,240.00	1319	480.00	1400	5,040.00	2042	900.00	2107	15,600.00
1238	1,080.00	1321	1,680.00	1401	840.00	2043	960.00	2108	15,600.00
1239	1,740.00	1322	1,080.00	1402	1,620.00	2044	600.00	2109	4,560.00
1240	4,320.00	1323	3,360.00	1403	780.00	2045	1,680.00	2110	5,760.00
1243	5,040.00	1324	2,640.00	1404	1,110.00	2046	12,000.00		
1245	1,140.00	1325	2,160.00	1405	1,320.00	2047	10,800.00		
1246	2,640.00	1327	1,500.00	1406	720.00	2048	8,400.00		
1247	5,040.00	1329	2,040.00	1407	1,980.00	2049	5,280.00		
1248	960.00	1330	1,680.00	1408	2,040.00	2050	6,600.00		
1249	1,320.00	1331	1,920.00	1409	3,480.00	2051	780.00		
1250	2,520.00	1332	4,800.00	1410	1,920.00	2052	384.00		
1251	1,170.00	1333	2,160.00	1411	1,440.00	2053	114,000.00		
1252	1,080.00	1334	1,440.00			2054	9,600.00		
1254	2,760.00	1335	1,440.00			2055	3,600.00		
1255	2,040.00	1336	1,800.00	Session 3 The John W. Adams Collection of Comitia Americana and Related Medals				3001	45,600.00
1258	1,800.00	1337	1,200.00	Thursday, November 14				3002	81,000.00
1261	1,020.00	1340	780.00	Room 308				3003	14,400.00
1262	7,800.00	1341	870.00	5:00 PM ET				3004	39,600.00
1263	1,140.00	1342	2,880.00	Lots 2001-2110				3005	27,600.00
1264	1,320.00	1343	720.00					3006	10,800.00
1265	960.00	1345	4,800.00					3007	11,400.00
1267	2,880.00	1346	3,360.00					3008	6,600.00
1268	1,020.00	1347	5,280.00					3010	9,600.00
1269	1,560.00	1349	960.00	2001	84,000.00	2064	3,600.00	3011	9,300.00
1270	1,020.00	1350	2,640.00	2002	10,800.00	2065	2,400.00	3012	6,300.00
1272	930.00	1352	2,640.00	2003	15,600.00	2066	2,280.00	3013	12,000.00
1273	360.00	1354	1,680.00	2004	12,000.00	2067	720.00	3014	13,200.00
1274	2,640.00	1356	1,170.00	2005	10,800.00	2068	840.00	3016	10,800.00
1275	5,760.00	1357	5,040.00	2006	1,140.00	2069	384.00	3017	13,200.00
1276	2,400.00	1358	4,560.00	2007	750.00	2070	552.00	3018	18,000.00
1278	3,600.00	1359	2,640.00	2008	66,000.00	2071	480.00	3019	7,200.00
1279	780.00	1360	3,240.00	2009	9,900.00	2072	90,000.00	3021	7,200.00
1280	1,260.00	1361	1,140.00	2010	2,400.00	2073	5,040.00	3022	6,000.00
1281	660.00	1362	2,880.00	2011	9,000.00	2074	1,920.00	3023	10,200.00
1282	1,440.00	1363	11,400.00	2012	14,400.00	2075	2,880.00	3026	6,900.00
1283	5,520.00	1364	1,800.00	2013	6,600.00	2076	2,640.00	3036	12,000.00
1285	2,640.00	1365	2,040.00	2014	2,160.00	2077	1,080.00	3037	9,600.00
1286	1,320.00	1366	960.00	2015	2,160.00	2078	360.00	3038	9,600.00
1287	3,240.00	1367	3,360.00	2016	2,400.00	2079	312.00	3039	10,800.00
1288	5,520.00	1368	11,400.00	2017	1,080.00	2080	1,020.00	3044	9,600.00
1291	4,200.00	1370	2,100.00	2022	1,920.00	2081	8,400.00	3045	192,000.00
1292	3,120.00	1371	1,800.00	2018	1,320.00	2082	7,200.00	3046	5,040.00
1293	2,040.00	1372	1,200.00	2019	1,680.00	2083	18,000.00	3047	9,000.00
1294	840.00	1374	1,140.00	2020	2,040.00	2084	2,160.00	3048	6,600.00
1296	3,120.00	1375	1,560.00	2021	84,000.00	2085	1,920.00	3051	10,200.00
1297	900.00	1377	4,080.00	2022	31,200.00	2086	168.00	3052	15,600.00
1298	840.00	1378	840.00	2023	4,080.00	2087	3,120.00	3054	10,200.00
1299	2,640.00	1380	870.00	2024	120,000.00	2088	5,280.00	3056	8,400.00
1300	1,440.00	1381	2,280.00	2025	32,400.00	2089	102,000.00	3057	10,200.00
1301	960.00	1382	2,520.00	2026	6,900.00	2090	33,600.00	3060	9,600.00
1302	1,860.00	1383	1,140.00	2027	3,360.00	2091	28,800.00	3061	21,600.00
1303	5,160.00	1385	4,680.00	2028	16,800.00	2092	22,800.00	3063	13,200.00
1304	1,440.00	1387	2,280.00	2029	6,900.00	2093	33,600.00	3065	10,200.00
1305	1,380.00	1388	4,080.00	2030	5,040.00	2094	36,000.00	3066	7,200.00
1306	2,040.00	1389	5,520.00	2031	4,080.00	2095	1,320.00	3067	18,600.00
1307	720.00	1390	3,360.00	2032	4,080.00	2096	90,000.00	3070	31,200.00
1309	1,680.00	1391	1,140.00	2033	3,840.00	2097	16,800.00	3072	13,200.00
1311	1,800.00	1392	1,800.00	2034	2,280.00	2098	1,200.00	3073	18,000.00
1312	1,320.00	1393	7,800.00	2035	3,840.00	2099	33,600.00	3076	19,200.00
1313	1,680.00	1394	1,200.00	2036	5,040.00	2100	4,560.00	3077	6,900.00
1314	1,080.00	1395	2,880.00	2037	504.00	2101	2,880.00	3078	6,300.00
1315	2,640.00	1396	1,140.00	2038	1,320.00	2102	3,120.00	3079	9,000.00
1316	1,200.00	1397	1,200.00	2039	288.00	2103	14,400.00	3081	19,200.00
1317	960.00	1398	2,280.00	2040	288.00	2104	1,560.00	3082	9,600.00
						2105	1,320.00		

Session 4 Rarities Night

Thursday, November 14

Room 308

immediately following the conclusion of Session 3

Lots 3001-3234

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	
3083	9,000.00	3159	13,200.00	3234	5,040.00	4063	780.00	4137	1,740.00	
3084	10,200.00	3160	25,200.00			4064	1,800.00	4138	2,160.00	
3085	14,400.00	3161	18,600.00	Session 6 Early American Coins Friday, November 15					4139	2,160.00
3088	10,800.00	3162	12,000.00			4066	264.00	4140	8,400.00	
3089	28,099.20	3163	33,600.00			4067	240.00	4141	1,440.00	
3090	11,400.00	3164	11,400.00	Room 308		4068	288.00	4142	576.00	
3092	8,400.00	3165	10,800.00	10:00 AM ET		4070	408.00	4143	1,920.00	
3093	12,000.00	3166	40,800.00	Lots 4001-4170		4071	504.00	4144	1,800.00	
3094	18,000.00	3167	72,000.00			4072	312.00	4145	1,080.00	
3095	48,000.00	3169	33,600.00			4074	288.00	4146	4,920.00	
3096	18,000.00	3170	10,800.00	4001	9,600.00	4076	1,200.00	4147	1,920.00	
3097	12,000.00	3171	7,800.00	4002	1,020.00	4077	228.00	4148	2,040.00	
3098	20,400.00	3173	13,200.00	4003	7,800.00	4079	690.00	4149	2,640.00	
3099	24,000.00	3174	21,600.00	4004	1,560.00	4080	48,000.00	4150	1,680.00	
3100	16,800.00	3175	31,200.00	4005	870.00	4081	456.00	4151	1,680.00	
3102	15,600.00	3176	26,400.00	4006	6,600.00	4082	720.00	4153	6,600.00	
3104	34,800.00	3177	60,000.00	4007	20,400.00	4083	528.00	4154	3,000.00	
3105	9,000.00	3178	8,400.00	4008	810.00	4084	480.00	4155	1,680.00	
3106	21,600.00	3179	50,400.00	4009	9,000.00	4085	7,200.00	4156	156.00	
3107	13,200.00	3180	33,600.00	4010	2,880.00	4087	720.00	4157	312.00	
3109	14,400.00	3181	9,600.00	4011	1,140.00	4088	1,440.00	4158	780.00	
3110	7,800.00	3182	13,200.00	4012	2,640.00	4089	480.00	4159	1,440.00	
3111	33,600.00	3184	8,700.00	4013	15,600.00	4091	2,280.00	4160	2,400.00	
3112	31,200.00	3186	9,000.00	4014	1,680.00	4092	3,120.00	4162	360.00	
3113	25,200.00	3187	240,000.00	4016	312.00	4093	456.00	4163	3,360.00	
3114	9,600.00	3188	264,000.00	4018	504.00	4094	600.00	4164	4,080.00	
3115	13,200.00	3189	6,900.00	4019	780.00	4095	5,760.00	4165	1,800.00	
3116	19,800.00	3190	7,200.00	4020	288.00	4096	1,260.00	4166	660.00	
3118	6,600.00	3191	6,600.00	4021	720.00	4097	504.00	4167	600.00	
3119	5,760.00	3192	7,800.00	4022	780.00	4098	1,080.00	4168	132.00	
3120	19,800.00	3193	9,300.00	4023	660.00	4099	360.00	4169	780.00	
3121	31,200.00	3194	14,400.00	4024	1,020.00	4100	384.00	4170	576.00	
3122	22,800.00	3195	18,600.00	4025	750.00	4101	168.00			
3124	18,000.00	3196	40,800.00	4026	1,140.00	4102	264.00			
3125	20,400.00	3198	13,800.00	4027	840.00	4103	504.00			
3126	43,200.00	3199	57,600.00	4028	4,800.00	4104	660.00			
3127	14,400.00	3200	20,400.00	4029	2,640.00	4105	3,600.00			
3128	10,200.00	3201	8,400.00	4030	720.00	4106	960.00			
3129	12,000.00	3202	72,000.00	4031	408.00	4107	1,320.00			
3130	10,200.00	3203	36,000.00	4032	504.00	4109	660.00			
3131	108,000.00	3204	21,600.00	4033	480.00	4110	3,600.00			
3132	78,000.00	3205	15,600.00	4034	504.00	4111	264.00			
3133	9,600.00	3206	14,400.00	4035	3,240.00	4112	3,840.00			
3134	174,000.00	3207	38,400.00	4037	3,120.00	4113	720.00			
3135	14,400.00	3208	13,200.00	4038	4,800.00	4114	336.00	5001	4,080.00	
3136	13,200.00	3209	60,000.00	4039	720.00	4115	408.00	5002	1,320.00	
3137	8,400.00	3210	3,720.00	4040	1,680.00	4116	384.00	5003	1,560.00	
3138	10,200.00	3211	87,000.00	4042	660.00	4117	456.00	5004	13,200.00	
3139	48,000.00	3212	78,000.00	4043	180.00	4118	408.00	5005	960.00	
3140	28,800.00	3213	10,200.00	4044	3,120.00	4119	720.00	5006	780.00	
3141	19,200.00	3214	15,600.00	4045	264.00	4120	1,680.00	5007	10,200.00	
3142	33,600.00	3215	15,600.00	4046	780.00	4121	1,440.00	5008	2,640.00	
3143	40,800.00	3217	7,800.00	4047	780.00	4122	900.00	5009	2,160.00	
3144	19,200.00	3219	24,000.00	4048	36,000.00	4123	1,080.00	5010	1,320.00	
3146	11,400.00	3220	13,200.00	4049	576.00	4124	900.00	5011	1,920.00	
3148	55,200.00	3222	120,000.00	4050	504.00	4125	960.00	5012	780.00	
3149	10,800.00	3223	25,200.00	4051	3,600.00	4126	1,020.00	5013	3,360.00	
3150	60,000.00	3224	10,500.00	4052	660.00	4127	1,020.00	5014	3,960.00	
3151	12,000.00	3225	31,200.00	4054	408.00	4128	1,200.00	5015	1,020.00	
3152	204,000.00	3226	6,600.00	4055	900.00	4129	960.00	5016	1,920.00	
3153	19,200.00	3227	5,520.00	4056	600.00	4132	2,880.00	5017	2,040.00	
3154	16,800.00	3228	13,200.00	4057	780.00	4133	2,640.00	5018	1,140.00	
3155	15,600.00	3229	7,800.00	4058	600.00	4134	2,280.00	5019	4,080.00	
3156	12,000.00	3230	24,000.00	4059	900.00	4135	2,280.00	5020	5,040.00	
3157	10,200.00	3233	6,000.00	4061	552.00	4136	1,380.00	5021	2,400.00	
				4062	900.00			5022	2,880.00	

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
5023	1,740.00	5088	22,800.00	5153	408.00	5218	3,120.00	5283	480.00
5024	2,640.00	5089	2,400.00	5154	360.00	5219	660.00	5284	750.00
5025	1,800.00	5090	840.00	5155	1,320.00	5220	336.00	5285	1,440.00
5026	1,680.00	5091	1,680.00	5156	600.00	5221	2,880.00	5286	630.00
5027	1,800.00	5092	660.00	5157	1,200.00	5222	660.00	5287	960.00
5028	4,560.00	5093	1,320.00	5158	2,400.00	5223	480.00	5288	360.00
5029	1,560.00	5094	504.00	5159	480.00	5224	6,300.00	5289	2,640.00
5030	2,040.00	5095	432.00	5160	432.00	5225	6,600.00	5290	1,560.00
5031	2,160.00	5096	1,440.00	5161	576.00	5226	456.00	5291	780.00
5032	2,880.00	5097	6,600.00	5162	1,800.00	5227	660.00	5292	5,040.00
5033	2,640.00	5098	780.00	5163	336.00	5228	528.00	5293	2,040.00
5034	1,320.00	5099	1,020.00	5164	840.00	5229	1,140.00	5294	7,800.00
5035	1,320.00	5100	1,320.00	5165	660.00	5230	1,560.00	5295	2,880.00
5036	2,640.00	5101	1,200.00	5166	600.00	5231	2,160.00	5296	660.00
5037	8,400.00	5102	1,920.00	5167	1,320.00	5232	408.00	5297	2,400.00
5038	4,560.00	5103	456.00	5168	1,020.00	5233	1,740.00	5298	6,600.00
5039	1,320.00	5104	1,800.00	5169	720.00	5234	528.00	5299	1,560.00
5040	960.00	5105	384.00	5170	528.00	5235	1,440.00	5300	3,360.00
5041	2,280.00	5106	1,440.00	5171	1,080.00	5236	780.00	5301	870.00
5042	1,140.00	5107	384.00	5172	456.00	5237	288.00	5302	1,020.00
5043	2,040.00	5108	2,640.00	5173	408.00	5238	1,560.00	5303	312.00
5044	2,280.00	5109	960.00	5174	1,680.00	5239	1,140.00	5304	432.00
5045	1,440.00	5110	1,800.00	5175	1,920.00	5240	1,800.00	5305	1,320.00
5046	7,200.00	5111	2,640.00	5176	1,200.00	5241	480.00	5306	1,680.00
5047	3,360.00	5112	1,800.00	5177	504.00	5242	432.00	5307	1,320.00
5048	4,800.00	5113	5,040.00	5178	360.00	5243	408.00	5308	2,640.00
5049	1,920.00	5114	3,120.00	5179	960.00	5244	552.00	5309	480.00
5050	1,080.00	5115	26,400.00	5180	1,680.00	5245	432.00	5310	660.00
5051	2,160.00	5116	2,280.00	5181	528.00	5246	840.00	5311	660.00
5052	480.00	5117	576.00	5182	2,160.00	5247	360.00	5312	336.00
5053	36,000.00	5118	384.00	5183	840.00	5248	660.00	5313	480.00
5054	2,880.00	5119	2,100.00	5184	840.00	5249	780.00	5314	1,380.00
5055	1,680.00	5120	1,020.00	5185	288.00	5250	660.00	5315	1,920.00
5056	6,600.00	5121	1,920.00	5186	456.00	5251	1,200.00	5316	1,560.00
5057	408.00	5122	3,120.00	5187	840.00	5252	2,280.00	5317	1,200.00
5058	408.00	5123	1,560.00	5188	600.00	5253	1,260.00	5318	1,800.00
5059	1,080.00	5124	1,320.00	5189	1,080.00	5254	456.00	5319	4,560.00
5060	504.00	5125	6,600.00	5190	660.00	5255	312.00	5320	1,440.00
5061	228.00	5126	1,080.00	5191	1,200.00	5256	1,320.00	5321	2,760.00
5062	456.00	5127	504.00	5192	780.00	5257	780.00	5322	1,110.00
5063	4,560.00	5128	576.00	5193	528.00	5258	3,360.00	5323	288.00
5064	1,140.00	5129	2,640.00	5194	3,840.00	5259	660.00	5324	1,440.00
5065	2,400.00	5130	1,320.00	5195	660.00	5260	960.00	5325	1,320.00
5066	4,080.00	5131	1,920.00	5196	1,800.00	5261	480.00	5326	840.00
5067	2,640.00	5132	660.00	5197	408.00	5262	1,200.00	5327	5,280.00
5068	840.00	5133	384.00	5198	456.00	5263	432.00	5328	480.00
5069	4,080.00	5134	384.00	5199	660.00	5264	408.00	5329	360.00
5070	264.00	5135	456.00	5200	840.00	5265	456.00	5330	3,600.00
5071	2,880.00	5136	504.00	5201	336.00	5266	1,200.00	5331	2,160.00
5072	1,020.00	5137	384.00	5202	810.00	5267	660.00	5332	1,080.00
5073	720.00	5138	2,160.00	5203	576.00	5268	1,920.00	5333	504.00
5074	336.00	5139	2,040.00	5204	1,680.00	5269	2,160.00	5334	432.00
5075	2,400.00	5140	336.00	5205	528.00	5270	480.00	5335	504.00
5076	720.00	5141	840.00	5206	1,560.00	5271	504.00	5336	384.00
5077	3,600.00	5142	2,760.00	5207	840.00	5272	1,320.00	5337	288.00
5078	4,320.00	5143	528.00	5208	1,320.00	5273	960.00	5338	1,140.00
5079	6,600.00	5144	1,080.00	5209	1,080.00	5274	660.00	5339	480.00
5080	1,020.00	5145	13,800.00	5210	456.00	5275	432.00	5340	240.00
5081	3,360.00	5146	3,120.00	5211	1,800.00	5276	2,640.00	5341	5,280.00
5082	1,320.00	5147	408.00	5212	432.00	5277	408.00	5342	2,640.00
5083	7,200.00	5148	2,160.00	5213	840.00	5278	1,560.00	5343	1,140.00
5084	5,280.00	5149	1,440.00	5214	264.00	5279	1,860.00	5344	312.00
5085	2,040.00	5150	1,800.00	5215	660.00	5280	528.00	5345	600.00
5086	4,080.00	5151	552.00	5216	432.00	5281	3,840.00	5346	1,020.00
5087	1,920.00	5152	480.00	5217	336.00	5282	264.00	5347	4,320.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized
5348	2,880.00	6052	720.00	6117	720.00	6182	528.00		
5349	7,800.00	6053	5,040.00	6118	720.00	6183	720.00		
5350	2,400.00	6054	1,200.00	6119	780.00	6184	22,800.00		
		6055	15,600.00	6120	960.00	6185	19,800.00		
		6056	43,200.00	6121	960.00	6186	7,200.00		
Session 8		6057	55,200.00	6122	5,280.00	6187	2,040.00		
The E Pluribus Unum		6058	24,000.00	6123	10,200.00	6188	432.00		
Collection of		6059	360.00	6124	900.00	6189	660.00		
New Jersey Coppers		6060	5,280.00	6125	1,440.00	6190	1,440.00		
Friday, November 15		6061	5,280.00	6126	528.00	6191	1,680.00		
Room 308		6062	504.00	6127	1,560.00	6192	5,520.00		
6:00 PM ET		6063	840.00	6128	3,840.00	6193	9,000.00		
Lots 6001-6243		6064	78,000.00	6129	4,800.00	6194	2,160.00		
		6065	2,160.00	6130	312.00	6195	1,020.00		
		6066	72,000.00	6131	1,560.00	6196	1,800.00		
6001	3,000.00	6067	2,400.00	6132	840.00	6197	840.00		
6002	2,040.00	6068	4,560.00	6133	1,920.00	6198	1,560.00		
6003	6,600.00	6069	504.00	6134	1,800.00	6199	1,800.00		
6004	5,040.00	6070	12,000.00	6135	1,320.00	6200	1,320.00		
6005	5,040.00	6071	5,040.00	6136	1,260.00	6201	480.00		
6006	1,320.00	6072	2,880.00	6137	2,040.00	6202	1,800.00		
6007	1,320.00	6073	4,800.00	6138	156.00	6203	480.00		
6008	3,840.00	6074	5,040.00	6139	660.00	6204	480.00		
6009	2,640.00	6075	1,560.00	6140	600.00	6205	660.00		
6010	78,000.00	6076	5,760.00	6141	780.00	6206	6,000.00		
6011	66,000.00	6077	4,800.00	6142	45,600.00	6207	2,880.00		
6012	12,600.00	6078	3,120.00	6143	3,120.00	6208	1,380.00		
6013	96,000.00	6079	576.00	6144	6,600.00	6209	28,800.00		
6014	3,840.00	6080	7,800.00	6145	2,880.00	6210	2,160.00		
6015	13,200.00	6081	2,400.00	6146	7,800.00	6211	3,360.00		
6016	8,400.00	6082	480.00	6147	3,600.00	6212	13,200.00		
6017	5,520.00	6083	7,200.00	6148	1,200.00	6213	19,200.00		
6018	20,400.00	6084	2,400.00	6149	900.00	6214	8,400.00		
6019	10,800.00	6085	3,360.00	6150	7,800.00	6215	5,760.00		
6020	780.00	6086	2,640.00	6151	384.00	6216	9,000.00		
6021	960.00	6087	1,440.00	6152	7,800.00	6217	4,080.00		
6022	5,280.00	6088	840.00	6153	6,600.00	6218	9,000.00		
6023	1,920.00	6089	28,800.00	6154	720.00	6219	3,120.00		
6024	576.00	6090	19,200.00	6155	960.00	6220	3,840.00		
6025	4,080.00	6091	4,320.00	6156	660.00	6221	4,320.00		
6026	15,600.00	6092	3,600.00	6157	4,800.00	6222	4,320.00		
6027	10,200.00	6093	1,320.00	6158	288.00	6223	900.00		
6028	2,880.00	6094	2,640.00	6159	2,640.00	6224	3,120.00		
6029	660.00	6095	1,800.00	6160	1,920.00	6225	18,000.00		
6030	9,600.00	6096	19,200.00	6161	600.00	6226	3,120.00		
6031	1,920.00	6097	6,000.00	6162	960.00	6227	660.00		
6032	2,400.00	6098	5,040.00	6163	840.00	6228	2,640.00		
6033	690.00	6099	504.00	6164	900.00	6229	2,640.00		
6034	720.00	6100	660.00	6165	960.00	6230	1,920.00		
6035	6,900.00	6101	9,000.00	6166	480.00	6231	3,360.00		
6036	3,840.00	6102	660.00	6167	1,080.00	6232	900.00		
6037	2,400.00	6103	216.00	6168	900.00	6233	456.00		
6038	1,560.00	6104	900.00	6169	900.00	6234	50,400.00		
6039	3,120.00	6105	12,000.00	6170	960.00	6235	22,800.00		
6040	2,880.00	6106	1,020.00	6171	1,920.00	6236	3,240.00		
6041	780.00	6107	5,760.00	6172	720.00	6237	2,160.00		
6042	2,400.00	6108	5,280.00	6173	2,400.00	6238	1,200.00		
6043	1,320.00	6109	5,280.00	6174	1,080.00	6239	1,080.00		
6044	9,600.00	6110	8,400.00	6175	576.00	6240	2,880.00		
6045	1,020.00	6111	15,600.00	6176	528.00	6241	2,880.00		
6046	4,800.00	6112	1,080.00	6177	576.00	6242	720.00		
6047	576.00	6113	1,500.00	6178	576.00	6243	384.00		
6048	4,320.00	6114	7,200.00	6179	1,800.00				
6049	7,200.00	6115	5,760.00	6180	780.00				
6050	288.00	6116	6,000.00	6181	1,020.00				
6051	5,280.00								

Session 9
The E. Horatio Morgan
Collection of
U.S. Half Dollars
Friday, November 15
Room 309
11:00 AM ET
Lots 7001-7336

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
7057	2,400.00	7122	2,400.00	7187	2,640.00	7252	408.00	7317	4,320.00
7058	780.00	7123	660.00	7188	1,920.00	7253	66,000.00	7318	1,920.00
7059	2,640.00	7124	1,200.00	7189	600.00	7254	3,360.00	7319	1,320.00
7060	600.00	7125	576.00	7190	7,800.00	7255	1,020.00	7320	900.00
7061	600.00	7126	7,800.00	7191	480.00	7256	1,680.00	7321	930.00
7062	2,160.00	7127	780.00	7192	660.00	7257	2,280.00	7322	780.00
7063	21,600.00	7128	6,000.00	7193	14,400.00	7258	900.00	7323	2,160.00
7064	1,740.00	7129	1,980.00	7194	600.00	7259	660.00	7324	528.00
7065	1,740.00	7130	3,840.00	7195	2,520.00	7260	480.00	7325	960.00
7066	408.00	7131	1,680.00	7196	4,320.00	7261	288.00	7326	2,160.00
7067	55,200.00	7132	1,560.00	7197	504,000.00	7262	312.00	7327	750.00
7068	900.00	7133	1,560.00	7198	90,000.00	7263	504.00	7328	216.00
7069	3,120.00	7134	780.00	7199	3,120.00	7264	720.00	7329	18,000.00
7070	780.00	7135	264.00	7200	5,040.00	7265	1,800.00	7330	1,080.00
7071	750.00	7136	1,680.00	7201	75,000.00	7266	528.00	7331	15,000.00
7072	1,800.00	7137	900.00	7202	408.00	7267	600.00	7332	1,080.00
7073	1,320.00	7138	840.00	7203	1,560.00	7268	504.00	7333	1,020.00
7074	840.00	7139	840.00	7204	2,400.00	7269	1,020.00	7334	2,040.00
7075	810.00	7140	840.00	7205	456.00	7270	960.00	7335	1,560.00
7076	84,000.00	7141	840.00	7206	408.00	7271	1,260.00	7336	10,800.00
7077	720.00	7142	900.00	7207	1,920.00	7272	528.00		
7078	7,200.00	7143	780.00	7208	3,120.00	7273	960.00		
7079	960.00	7144	504.00	7209	840.00	7274	690.00		
7080	840.00	7145	4,560.00	7210	1,920.00	7275	1,380.00		
7081	750.00	7146	930.00	7211	1,020.00	7276	2,880.00		
7082	660.00	7147	840.00	7212	870.00	7277	1,320.00		
7083	660.00	7148	1,440.00	7213	1,560.00	7278	6,600.00		
7084	6,000.00	7149	720.00	7214	1,920.00	7279	4,080.00		
7085	15,600.00	7150	600.00	7215	720.00	7280	1,680.00		
7086	4,560.00	7151	50,400.00	7216	660.00	7281	1,440.00		
7087	1,380.00	7152	1,440.00	7217	504.00	7282	1,020.00		
7088	630.00	7153	11,400.00	7218	840.00	7283	6,000.00	8001	2,760.00
7089	552.00	7154	1,440.00	7219	1,140.00	7284	840.00	8002	3,120.00
7090	600.00	7155	456.00	7220	4,080.00	7285	3,360.00	8003	3,120.00
7091	1,020.00	7156	1,200.00	7221	1,080.00	7286	3,360.00	8004	3,120.00
7092	3,360.00	7157	780.00	7222	12,000.00	7287	1,020.00	8005	1,200.00
7093	1,140.00	7158	840.00	7223	432.00	7288	2,040.00	8006	8,400.00
7094	1,320.00	7159	600.00	7224	840.00	7289	5,520.00	8007	2,040.00
7095	2,880.00	7160	840.00	7225	2,760.00	7290	720.00	8008	2,160.00
7096	4,320.00	7161	600.00	7226	840.00	7291	630.00	8009	1,560.00
7097	5,280.00	7162	5,040.00	7227	1,320.00	7292	384.00	8010	1,440.00
7098	16,200.00	7163	9,000.00	7228	2,280.00	7293	3,840.00	8011	1,680.00
7099	480.00	7164	1,320.00	7229	840.00	7294	4,920.00	8012	2,280.00
7100	5,280.00	7165	2,880.00	7230	900.00	7295	1,320.00	8013	1,020.00
7101	660.00	7166	1,440.00	7231	1,200.00	7296	1,440.00	8014	1,440.00
7102	528.00	7167	1,140.00	7232	660.00	7297	1,080.00	8015	1,200.00
7103	504.00	7168	1,620.00	7233	1,140.00	7298	360.00	8016	2,040.00
7104	600.00	7169	3,840.00	7234	1,080.00	7299	6,300.00	8017	1,380.00
7105	1,020.00	7170	1,020.00	7235	900.00	7300	900.00	8018	1,080.00
7106	1,080.00	7171	2,040.00	7236	660.00	7301	1,560.00	8019	2,640.00
7107	1,140.00	7172	72,000.00	7237	3,600.00	7302	6,300.00	8020	2,880.00
7108	13,200.00	7173	1,200.00	7238	456.00	7303	336.00	8021	780.00
7109	3,480.00	7174	1,440.00	7239	1,320.00	7304	900.00	8022	1,860.00
7110	504.00	7175	480.00	7240	1,200.00	7305	1,680.00	8023	900.00
7111	600.00	7176	3,120.00	7241	660.00	7306	456.00	8024	1,800.00
7112	504.00	7177	576.00	7242	1,080.00	7307	1,440.00	8025	1,020.00
7113	660.00	7178	660.00	7243	144.00	7308	1,560.00	8026	1,800.00
7114	630.00	7179	552.00	7244	1,920.00	7309	50,400.00	8027	3,480.00
7115	10,800.00	7180	7,200.00	7245	288.00	7310	1,680.00	8028	6,600.00
7116	1,440.00	7181	1,020.00	7246	1,080.00	7311	960.00	8029	3,360.00
7117	504.00	7182	2,280.00	7247	2,880.00	7312	900.00	8030	1,920.00
7118	900.00	7183	660.00	7248	630.00	7313	1,680.00	8031	2,400.00
7119	9,000.00	7184	528.00	7249	2,880.00	7314	1,560.00	8032	1,860.00
7120	660.00	7185	1,080.00	7250	384.00	7315	1,140.00	8033	4,080.00
7121	1,560.00	7186	660.00	7251	3,000.00	7316	960.00		

Session 10
U.S. Coins Part 2
Silver Dollars,
Commemoratives,
Gold and Miscellaneous
 Friday, November 15
 Room 309
 5:00 PM ET
 Lots 8001-8634

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
8034	10,200.00	8103	960.00	8172	3,120.00	8256	2,640.00	8324	1,740.00
8035	1,560.00	8104	1,020.00	8173	1,320.00	8257	1,320.00	8325	1,080.00
8036	3,600.00	8105	7,200.00	8174	1,680.00	8258	1,680.00	8326	1,920.00
8037	2,640.00	8106	3,360.00	8175	6,000.00	8259	3,240.00	8327	408.00
8038	5,520.00	8107	1,440.00	8177	1,320.00	8260	3,120.00	8329	2,160.00
8039	3,600.00	8108	7,800.00	8180	1,800.00	8261	6,900.00	8331	1,020.00
8041	10,200.00	8109	6,600.00	8181	1,980.00	8262	7,800.00	8332	990.00
8042	2,880.00	8110	3,720.00	8182	3,600.00	8263	1,560.00	8333	5,520.00
8043	1,800.00	8111	3,000.00	8184	480.00	8264	1,440.00	8334	7,800.00
8044	1,080.00	8112	3,600.00	8185	780.00	8265	720.00	8335	3,360.00
8045	960.00	8113	1,800.00	8186	2,640.00	8266	1,680.00	8336	6,600.00
8046	7,800.00	8114	2,520.00	8187	1,440.00	8267	8,400.00	8337	1,320.00
8047	3,600.00	8115	2,280.00	8188	1,440.00	8268	5,280.00	8338	7,800.00
8048	576.00	8116	1,680.00	8189	6,000.00	8269	5,280.00	8339	2,880.00
8049	5,760.00	8117	1,320.00	8192	690.00	8270	2,520.00	8340	3,840.00
8050	3,360.00	8118	1,320.00	8195	3,120.00	8271	2,640.00	8341	4,080.00
8051	3,120.00	8119	1,440.00	8196	1,680.00	8272	2,880.00	8342	4,800.00
8052	1,560.00	8120	9,600.00	8197	3,600.00	8273	1,560.00	8343	4,800.00
8053	1,320.00	8121	5,520.00	8198	2,520.00	8274	7,800.00	8344	1,140.00
8054	1,020.00	8122	3,480.00	8199	840.00	8275	4,320.00	8345	3,360.00
8055	2,880.00	8123	3,720.00	8200	2,280.00	8277	3,120.00	8346	4,560.00
8056	900.00	8124	2,160.00	8201	2,160.00	8278	3,120.00	8347	900.00
8057	1,560.00	8125	3,600.00	8202	1,500.00	8279	2,400.00	8348	3,600.00
8058	1,320.00	8126	900.00	8203	2,040.00	8280	1,200.00	8349	5,280.00
8059	4,320.00	8127	1,140.00	8204	3,600.00	8281	6,000.00	8350	6,600.00
8061	960.00	8128	1,200.00	8205	4,800.00	8282	3,600.00	8351	1,440.00
8062	1,080.00	8129	2,640.00	8206	3,360.00	8283	5,280.00	8352	960.00
8063	4,320.00	8130	2,640.00	8208	1,680.00	8284	5,040.00	8353	2,640.00
8064	1,320.00	8131	3,120.00	8209	3,360.00	8286	5,760.00	8354	2,760.00
8065	5,520.00	8132	1,200.00	8210	3,840.00	8287	3,840.00	8355	1,440.00
8066	2,160.00	8133	1,140.00	8212	3,120.00	8288	7,200.00	8356	3,120.00
8068	2,400.00	8134	2,880.00	8214	2,640.00	8289	1,560.00	8357	4,320.00
8069	2,640.00	8135	1,680.00	8222	5,280.00	8290	2,040.00	8358	3,120.00
8070	2,520.00	8136	2,880.00	8223	4,320.00	8291	2,160.00	8359	2,040.00
8071	1,560.00	8137	960.00	8224	1,560.00	8292	1,560.00	8360	1,320.00
8072	1,440.00	8139	2,640.00	8225	15,600.00	8293	5,760.00	8361	1,140.00
8073	1,560.00	8140	6,000.00	8226	1,920.00	8294	5,760.00	8362	1,560.00
8074	1,080.00	8141	2,880.00	8227	1,560.00	8295	3,600.00	8364	900.00
8075	2,040.00	8142	2,340.00	8228	1,050.00	8296	3,120.00	8365	1,320.00
8076	1,260.00	8143	1,080.00	8229	1,440.00	8297	9,000.00	8366	1,920.00
8078	7,800.00	8145	1,440.00	8230	264.00	8298	2,400.00	8367	6,600.00
8079	7,800.00	8146	8,100.00	8231	432.00	8299	3,120.00	8368	1,920.00
8080	2,400.00	8147	3,000.00	8232	336.00	8300	6,600.00	8369	1,920.00
8081	1,920.00	8148	2,640.00	8233	312.00	8301	7,500.00	8370	1,680.00
8082	1,200.00	8149	840.00	8234	312.00	8302	8,400.00	8371	1,200.00
8083	840.00	8150	3,000.00	8235	336.00	8303	3,600.00	8372	7,200.00
8084	2,400.00	8151	1,320.00	8236	336.00	8304	5,520.00	8373	7,200.00
8085	2,880.00	8153	9,600.00	8237	264.00	8305	3,840.00	8374	1,920.00
8086	7,200.00	8154	6,600.00	8238	504.00	8306	5,040.00	8375	1,050.00
8087	1,440.00	8155	1,110.00	8239	552.00	8307	4,080.00	8376	6,900.00
8088	1,680.00	8157	1,110.00	8240	1,140.00	8308	2,640.00	8377	4,080.00
8089	5,040.00	8158	900.00	8241	1,680.00	8309	2,760.00	8378	5,040.00
8090	5,520.00	8159	2,520.00	8242	1,320.00	8310	2,400.00	8379	5,280.00
8091	3,120.00	8160	10,200.00	8244	960.00	8311	7,800.00	8380	3,600.00
8092	1,680.00	8161	1,920.00	8245	2,160.00	8312	3,360.00	8381	2,880.00
8093	1,440.00	8162	2,640.00	8246	2,640.00	8314	3,600.00	8382	1,440.00
8094	1,020.00	8163	720.00	8247	9,600.00	8315	6,600.00	8383	3,120.00
8095	5,040.00	8164	2,160.00	8248	2,400.00	8316	1,380.00	8384	1,920.00
8096	7,200.00	8165	1,800.00	8249	1,920.00	8317	2,880.00	8385	1,170.00
8097	2,280.00	8166	1,560.00	8250	1,680.00	8318	8,400.00	8386	4,320.00
8098	780.00	8167	1,140.00	8251	4,320.00	8319	1,140.00	8387	3,840.00
8099	5,040.00	8168	2,040.00	8252	960.00	8320	2,280.00	8388	4,920.00
8100	4,080.00	8169	2,400.00	8253	1,920.00	8321	1,740.00	8389	4,320.00
8101	3,720.00	8170	960.00	8254	4,560.00	8322	2,280.00	8390	3,600.00
8102	3,720.00	8171	1,800.00	8255	3,600.00	8323	1,140.00	8391	6,600.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
8392	2,880.00	8457	3,120.00	8524	1,800.00	8596	4,800.00	9020	144.00
8393	5,520.00	8458	2,100.00	8525	1,800.00	8597	5,040.00	9021	312.00
8394	4,800.00	8459	1,860.00	8526	2,880.00	8598	2,040.00	9022	240.00
8395	6,300.00	8460	2,400.00	8527	1,680.00	8599	1,920.00	9023	1,020.00
8396	10,800.00	8461	1,980.00	8528	6,600.00	8600	4,080.00	9024	780.00
8397	2,880.00	8462	2,520.00	8529	3,840.00	8601	1,800.00	9025	1,200.00
8398	4,080.00	8463	1,740.00	8530	2,280.00	8602	3,720.00	9026	840.00
8399	2,280.00	8464	2,160.00	8531	1,680.00	8603	2,040.00	9027	432.00
8400	2,040.00	8465	4,320.00	8532	2,640.00	8604	2,400.00	9028	432.00
8401	6,300.00	8466	2,160.00	8533	1,560.00	8605	6,300.00	9029	1,140.00
8402	2,160.00	8467	3,120.00	8534	8,400.00	8606	2,880.00	9030	312.00
8403	2,880.00	8468	2,040.00	8535	2,160.00	8607	1,800.00	9031	336.00
8404	6,600.00	8469	2,640.00	8536	6,900.00	8608	2,040.00	9032	288.00
8405	4,800.00	8470	2,400.00	8537	2,280.00	8609	4,560.00	9033	312.00
8406	6,900.00	8471	1,620.00	8538	4,800.00	8610	2,880.00	9034	900.00
8407	2,160.00	8472	2,640.00	8539	6,600.00	8612	3,120.00	9035	360.00
8408	4,080.00	8473	5,760.00	8540	2,280.00	8613	1,920.00	9036	336.00
8409	7,200.00	8474	4,800.00	8541	2,880.00	8614	3,600.00	9037	384.00
8410	3,840.00	8475	3,840.00	8542	1,680.00	8615	2,520.00	9038	288.00
8411	8,400.00	8476	2,400.00	8543	4,320.00	8616	2,400.00	9039	384.00
8412	4,080.00	8477	1,800.00	8544	3,120.00	8617	2,160.00	9040	360.00
8413	3,360.00	8478	3,360.00	8545	4,320.00	8618	2,280.00	9041	360.00
8414	6,600.00	8479	1,800.00	8546	6,600.00	8619	2,520.00	9042	288.00
8415	2,160.00	8480	4,080.00	8547	1,920.00	8621	1,440.00	9043	360.00
8416	5,280.00	8481	1,740.00	8548	7,500.00	8622	1,440.00	9044	336.00
8417	3,120.00	8482	6,000.00	8549	1,920.00	8623	840.00	9045	360.00
8418	2,640.00	8483	2,640.00	8550	5,040.00	8624	690.00	9046	312.00
8419	6,600.00	8484	2,400.00	8551	9,300.00	8628	4,320.00	9047	360.00
8420	2,280.00	8485	10,800.00	8552	2,640.00	8629	1,680.00	9048	360.00
8421	4,320.00	8486	2,880.00	8553	2,640.00	8630	1,440.00	9049	384.00
8422	2,640.00	8487	2,400.00	8555	1,920.00	8631	1,020.00	9050	360.00
8423	10,200.00	8488	2,160.00	8556	9,000.00	8632	1,920.00	9051	288.00
8424	2,040.00	8489	1,800.00	8557	3,120.00	8633	11,400.00	9052	336.00
8425	3,600.00	8490	3,840.00	8558	3,840.00	8634	10,800.00	9053	336.00
8426	6,600.00	8491	2,160.00	8559	5,520.00			9054	720.00
8427	4,200.00	8492	1,740.00	8560	2,640.00			9055	384.00
8428	2,160.00	8493	1,680.00	8561	3,120.00			9056	336.00
8429	1,800.00	8494	2,040.00	8562	6,600.00			9057	336.00
8430	5,280.00	8495	3,360.00	8563	6,600.00			9058	384.00
8431	2,400.00	8496	6,000.00	8564	4,080.00			9059	312.00
8432	2,640.00	8498	6,600.00	8565	2,640.00			9060	336.00
8433	6,300.00	8499	8,400.00	8566	2,400.00			9061	360.00
8434	1,560.00	8500	2,640.00	8567	16,800.00			9062	360.00
8435	6,000.00	8501	2,160.00	8569	1,920.00			9063	360.00
8436	3,120.00	8502	1,800.00	8571	3,120.00			9064	432.00
8437	2,040.00	8503	3,360.00	8572	6,600.00			9065	384.00
8438	2,400.00	8504	1,680.00	8573	3,600.00	9001	168.00	9066	204.00
8439	5,280.00	8505	2,880.00	8574	3,720.00	9002	70.00	9067	156.00
8440	5,160.00	8506	2,880.00	8576	3,360.00	9003	156.00	9068	168.00
8441	4,320.00	8507	1,800.00	8577	3,840.00	9004	95.00	9069	120.00
8442	2,040.00	8508	2,280.00	8578	2,400.00	9005	100.00	9070	720.00
8443	3,480.00	8509	6,900.00	8579	4,560.00	9006	156.00	9071	384.00
8444	2,160.00	8510	4,200.00	8580	4,320.00	9007	100.00	9072	55.00
8445	5,760.00	8511	2,040.00	8581	2,040.00	9008	144.00	9073	780.00
8446	4,320.00	8512	2,160.00	8582	3,840.00	9009	120.00	9074	408.00
8447	2,040.00	8513	1,800.00	8583	3,840.00	9010	95.00	9075	204.00
8448	3,360.00	8514	5,520.00	8585	3,600.00	9011	132.00	9076	228.00
8449	2,880.00	8515	7,200.00	8587	3,120.00	9012	312.00	9077	384.00
8450	3,960.00	8516	5,520.00	8588	1,680.00	9013	192.00	9078	432.00
8451	3,960.00	8517	4,560.00	8589	3,360.00	9014	168.00	9079	40.00
8452	2,880.00	8518	3,600.00	8590	2,100.00	9015	120.00	9080	168.00
8453	5,040.00	8519	3,120.00	8591	3,600.00	9016	144.00	9081	75.00
8454	4,440.00	8520	4,800.00	8592	3,120.00	9017	132.00	9082	204.00
8455	1,620.00	8521	2,040.00	8593	3,120.00	9018	132.00	9083	80.00
8456	1,740.00	8523	2,640.00	8594	2,880.00	9019	144.00	9084	55.00

Session 11
U.S. Coins Part 1
Numismatic Americana
Internet Only

Monday, November 18

StacksBowers.com

*immediately following the
conclusion of Session B*

Lots 9001-9441

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
9085	240.00	9150	336.00	9216	264.00	9285	100.00	9352	1,020.00
9086	156.00	9151	480.00	9217	180.00	9286	384.00	9353	180.00
9087	240.00	9152	360.00	9218	110.00	9287	432.00	9354	132.00
9088	115.00	9153	240.00	9219	105.00	9288	65.00	9355	360.00
9089	312.00	9154	288.00	9220	2,040.00	9289	80.00	9356	1,140.00
9090	456.00	9155	264.00	9221	336.00	9290	100.00	9357	168.00
9091	456.00	9156	288.00	9222	312.00	9291	80.00	9358	132.00
9092	312.00	9157	288.00	9223	408.00	9292	168.00	9359	660.00
9093	55.00	9158	288.00	9224	144.00	9293	264.00	9360	312.00
9094	204.00	9159	288.00	9225	312.00	9294	576.00	9361	264.00
9095	156.00	9160	216.00	9226	1,320.00	9295	80.00	9362	192.00
9096	115.00	9161	288.00	9227	45.00	9296	720.00	9363	75.00
9097	456.00	9162	384.00	9228	288.00	9297	810.00	9364	552.00
9098	360.00	9163	336.00	9229	156.00	9298	65.00	9365	264.00
9099	288.00	9164	264.00	9230	228.00	9299	204.00	9366	132.00
9100	336.00	9165	216.00	9231	192.00	9300	95.00	9367	168.00
9101	504.00	9166	228.00	9232	180.00	9301	75.00	9368	228.00
9102	228.00	9167	192.00	9233	192.00	9302	204.00	9369	180.00
9103	180.00	9168	600.00	9234	336.00	9303	156.00	9370	65.00
9104	240.00	9169	240.00	9235	552.00	9304	168.00	9371	216.00
9105	192.00	9170	216.00	9236	216.00	9305	132.00	9372	85.00
9106	528.00	9171	720.00	9237	204.00	9306	384.00	9373	132.00
9107	408.00	9172	192.00	9238	110.00	9307	70.00	9374	336.00
9108	90.00	9173	216.00	9239	144.00	9308	288.00	9375	288.00
9109	110.00	9174	384.00	9240	85.00	9309	156.00	9376	240.00
9110	660.00	9175	336.00	9241	660.00	9310	204.00	9377	204.00
9111	65.00	9176	336.00	9242	336.00	9311	75.00	9378	480.00
9112	70.00	9177	168.00	9243	65.00	9312	25.00	9379	240.00
9113	156.00	9178	288.00	9244	95.00	9313	25.00	9380	312.00
9114	360.00	9179	156.00	9245	110.00	9314	95.00	9381	100.00
9115	480.00	9180	288.00	9246	180.00	9315	25.00	9382	288.00
9116	132.00	9181	312.00	9247	35.00	9316	65.00	9383	1,320.00
9117	312.00	9182	312.00	9248	240.00	9317	480.00	9384	360.00
9118	180.00	9183	336.00	9249	115.00	9318	50.00	9385	528.00
9119	228.00	9184	264.00	9251	216.00	9319	360.00	9386	528.00
9120	204.00	9185	204.00	9252	192.00	9320	132.00	9387	432.00
9121	80.00	9186	95.00	9253	216.00	9321	228.00	9388	312.00
9122	456.00	9187	336.00	9254	85.00	9322	50.00	9389	312.00
9123	504.00	9188	216.00	9255	336.00	9323	180.00	9390	660.00
9124	240.00	9189	312.00	9256	168.00	9324	45.00	9391	552.00
9125	288.00	9190	90.00	9257	384.00	9325	204.00	9392	312.00
9126	180.00	9191	192.00	9258	312.00	9326	552.00	9393	480.00
9127	50.00	9192	156.00	9259	288.00	9327	156.00	9394	600.00
9128	80.00	9193	168.00	9260	312.00	9328	504.00	9395	660.00
9129	70.00	9194	156.00	9261	110.00	9329	110.00	9396	408.00
9130	180.00	9195	312.00	9262	192.00	9330	264.00	9397	660.00
9131	55.00	9196	144.00	9263	192.00	9331	264.00	9398	552.00
9132	168.00	9197	156.00	9264	240.00	9332	120.00	9399	60.00
9133	120.00	9198	80.00	9265	80.00	9333	240.00	9400	110.00
9134	132.00	9199	132.00	9266	204.00	9334	144.00	9401	192.00
9135	55.00	9200	264.00	9267	60.00	9335	80.00	9402	120.00
9136	85.00	9201	132.00	9268	132.00	9336	168.00	9403	110.00
9137	120.00	9202	80.00	9269	35.00	9337	115.00	9404	45.00
9138	65.00	9203	132.00	9270	156.00	9338	70.00	9405	3,360.00
9139	45.00	9204	144.00	9271	45.00	9339	180.00	9406	336.00
9140	65.00	9205	132.00	9272	55.00	9340	216.00	9407	50.00
9141	45.00	9206	110.00	9273	115.00	9341	228.00	9408	100.00
9142	192.00	9207	85.00	9274	65.00	9342	100.00	9409	156.00
9143	40.00	9208	35.00	9275	168.00	9343	312.00	9410	168.00
9144	264.00	9209	132.00	9276	75.00	9344	90.00	9411	105.00
9145	384.00	9210	204.00	9277	60.00	9345	100.00	9412	144.00
9146	1,140.00	9211	264.00	9278	180.00	9346	180.00	9413	120.00
9147	132.00	9212	960.00	9279	168.00	9347	204.00	9414	120.00
9148	144.00	9213	384.00	9280	264.00	9348	204.00	9415	115.00
9149	480.00	9214	660.00	9281	240.00	9349	504.00	9416	180.00
		9215	456.00	9282	132.00	9350	90.00	9417	120.00
				9283	228.00	9351	90.00	9418	115.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized
9419	192.00	10044	1,440.00	10148	576.00	10218	1,920.00	10293	3,120.00
9420	115.00	10045	552.00	10149	1,080.00	10219	2,280.00	10294	3,840.00
9421	192.00	10046	900.00	10150	1,560.00	10220	1,140.00	10295	4,080.00
9422	100.00	10047	720.00	10151	4,080.00	10221	1,020.00	10296	4,200.00
9423	90.00	10048	720.00	10152	5,760.00	10222	1,920.00	10297	552.00
9424	30.00	10049	504.00	10153	720.00	10223	1,800.00	10298	1,050.00
9425	45.00	10050	552.00	10155	504.00	10224	2,160.00	10299	1,320.00
9426	204.00	10055	576.00	10156	600.00	10225	1,680.00	10300	720.00
9427	144.00	10056	780.00	10157	1,680.00	10226	4,680.00	10301	1,380.00
9429	75.00	10057	2,160.00	10158	1,020.00	10227	1,320.00	10302	660.00
9430	85.00	10058	2,160.00	10159	4,800.00	10228	8,400.00	10303	2,640.00
9431	40.00	10060	2,160.00	10160	1,020.00	10230	4,320.00	10304	1,080.00
9432	65.00	10061	2,160.00	10161	1,800.00	10231	2,880.00	10305	31,200.00
9433	552.00	10065	576.00	10162	2,640.00	10232	2,880.00	10306	3,720.00
9434	115.00	10066	1,080.00	10163	1,440.00	10233	18,000.00	10307	600.00
9435	105.00	10067	720.00	10164	5,640.00	10234	1,320.00	10308	900.00
9436	180.00	10068	780.00	10165	2,160.00	10235	7,200.00	10309	5,280.00
9437	132.00	10071	5,520.00	10166	1,920.00	10236	11,400.00	10310	720.00
9438	288.00	10072	576.00	10167	1,080.00	10237	6,600.00	10311	1,680.00
9439	900.00	10073	720.00	10168	1,320.00	10240	432.00	10312	9,300.00
9440	1,680.00	10074	720.00	10169	990.00	10241	960.00	10313	3,120.00
9441	1,020.00	10075	432.00	10170	3,360.00	10242	576.00	10314	14,400.00
		10076	840.00	10171	2,520.00	10243	1,080.00	10315	5,040.00
Session 5		10077	900.00	10172	5,280.00	10244	750.00	10316	2,880.00
U.S. Currency		10079	504.00	10173	1,050.00	10245	900.00	10317	3,840.00
Thursday, November 14		10080	1,500.00	10174	3,480.00	10246	840.00	10318	1,080.00
Room 309		10081	3,000.00	10175	8,400.00	10247	840.00	10319	432.00
6:00 PM ET		10082	900.00	10176	192,000.00	10248	720.00	10320	3,840.00
Lots 10001-10430		10084	504.00	10177	264,000.00	10249	1,020.00	10321	7,800.00
		10086	660.00	10178	3,840.00	10250	2,400.00	10323	3,120.00
		10087	660.00	10179	2,160.00	10251	750.00	10325	3,840.00
10001	900.00	10099	504.00	10180	2,400.00	10252	660.00	10326	9,000.00
10003	1,320.00	10100	432.00	10181	3,000.00	10254	780.00	10327	6,600.00
10004	6,000.00	10101	552.00	10182	3,960.00	10255	528.00	10328	456.00
10005	1,080.00	10102	720.00	10183	6,600.00	10257	1,920.00	10329	660.00
10006	720.00	10103	1,440.00	10184	2,640.00	10258	810.00	10330	1,140.00
10007	780.00	10104	576.00	10185	2,400.00	10259	750.00	10331	780.00
10008	576.00	10105	1,560.00	10186	3,840.00	10260	900.00	10332	1,440.00
10009	780.00	10106	900.00	10187	576.00	10261	780.00	10333	720.00
10010	528.00	10107	2,040.00	10188	1,080.00	10262	1,320.00	10334	1,560.00
10011	504.00	10109	780.00	10189	1,800.00	10263	2,640.00	10335	1,680.00
10012	720.00	10111	660.00	10190	1,320.00	10264	12,000.00	10336	1,920.00
10013	1,140.00	10112	528.00	10191	6,600.00	10265	1,080.00	10337	1,140.00
10014	1,320.00	10113	1,320.00	10192	930.00	10266	630.00	10338	528.00
10015	.960.00	10114	780.00	10193	1,380.00	10267	5,520.00	10339	432.00
10017	720.00	10116	2,640.00	10194	3,120.00	10268	1,800.00	10340	1,440.00
10018	720.00	10117	1,560.00	10195	5,760.00	10269	10,800.00	10342	780.00
10019	2,640.00	10119	3,840.00	10196	2,640.00	10270	600.00	10343	780.00
10020	3,600.00	10125	3,600.00	10197	3,480.00	10271	660.00	10344	1,140.00
10021	.432.00	10126	2,640.00	10198	8,400.00	10273	900.00	10346	780.00
10022	3,600.00	10127	3,120.00	10199	9,000.00	10275	660.00	10347	900.00
10023	1,440.00	10128	2,340.00	10200	2,640.00	10276	1,140.00	10348	1,020.00
10024	1,500.00	10129	2,160.00	10201	8,100.00	10277	3,600.00	10349	528.00
10025	.432.00	10130	2,040.00	10202	2,400.00	10278	2,160.00	10351	5,040.00
10026	2,880.00	10131	1,320.00	10203	1,320.00	10279	4,080.00	10352	720.00
10027	2,640.00	10132	900.00	10204	7,800.00	10280	840.00	10353	1,560.00
10028	3,840.00	10134	900.00	10206	5,040.00	10281	2,640.00	10355	576.00
10029	.780.00	10135	576.00	10207	1,560.00	10282	1,560.00	10356	1,440.00
10030	.504.00	10136	900.00	10208	4,200.00	10283	1,020.00	10357	720.00
10031	4,320.00	10139	576.00	10209	3,600.00	10284	1,020.00	10358	1,080.00
10032	2,640.00	10140	620.40	10210	3,360.00	10286	1,440.00	10359	960.00
10033	4,800.00	10141	780.00	10211	1,260.00	10287	3,360.00	10360	4,320.00
10034	3,240.00	10143	780.00	10212	6,600.00	10288	5,280.00	10361	48,000.00
10035	2,880.00	10144	600.00	10213	1,440.00	10289	2,040.00	10367	1,080.00
10036	1,920.00	10145	504.00	10215	1,680.00	10290	2,160.00	10377	1,800.00
10037	4,320.00	10146	780.00	10216	1,320.00	10291	3,720.00	10378	432.00
10041	.840.00	10147	.840.00	10217	1,560.00	10292	6,000.00	10380	9,600.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized	Lot No.	Price Realized
10381	660.00	11033	336.00	11125	228.00	11235	1,200.00	11302	432.00
10382	840.00	11035	456.00	11126	264.00	11236	132.00	11303	384.00
10383	1,020.00	11036	288.00	11127	384.00	11237	336.00	11304	780.00
10385	1,080.00	11037	432.00	11128	360.00	11238	456.00	11305	192.00
10386	576.00	11038	240.00	11129	192.00	11239	384.00	11306	180.00
10387	1,080.00	11039	228.00	11130	240.00	11240	456.00	11307	216.00
10390	456.00	11040	480.00	11131	384.00	11241	780.00	11308	384.00
10393	1,320.00	11041	384.00	11133	105.00	11242	600.00	11309	312.00
10394	6,600.00	11042	288.00	11134	110.00	11243	228.00	11310	312.00
10395	576.00	11043	156.00	11135	456.00	11244	1,200.00	11311	115.00
10398	1,440.00	11044	168.00	11139	360.00	11245	780.00	11312	105.00
10399	1,080.00	11045	144.00	11142	144.00	11246	840.00	11313	144.00
10404	1,920.00	11046	144.00	11143	95.00	11247	264.00	11314	360.00
10405	7,800.00	11047	144.00	11145	216.00	11248	240.00	11315	288.00
10406	3,840.00	11048	144.00	11149	360.00	11249	600.00	11316	264.00
10407	45,600.00	11050	228.00	11152	192.00	11250	228.00	11317	528.00
10408	660.00	11051	1,320.00	11153	288.00	11251	384.00	11318	312.00
10409	432.00	11052	660.00	11156	312.00	11252	660.00	11319	288.00
10410	2,640.00	11053	960.00	11158	240.00	11253	432.00	11320	504.00
10411	600.00	11054	1,080.00	11161	408.00	11254	630.00	11321	600.00
10412	480.00	11055	480.00	11162	75.00	11255	240.00	11322	552.00
10414	4,080.00	11057	360.00	11171	110.00	11256	384.00	11323	1,140.00
10417	26,400.00	11058	408.00	11173	144.00	11257	1,080.00	11324	2,040.00
10418	1,260.00	11059	384.00	11176	384.00	11258	288.00	11325	900.00
10419	960.00	11060	288.00	11178	65.00	11259	780.00	11326	456.00
10420	720.00	11061	288.00	11182	384.00	11260	408.00	11327	480.00
10421	840.00	11062	576.00	11186	360.00	11261	228.00	11328	240.00
10422	720.00	11063	408.00	11188	480.00	11262	180.00	11329	1,920.00
10423	432.00	11064	780.00	11189	432.00	11263	504.00	11330	720.00
10424	1,440.00	11065	288.00	11190	528.00	11264	840.00	11331	456.00
10425	528.00	11066	384.00	11192	480.00	11265	660.00	11332	288.00
10426	9,000.00	11067	432.00	11193	900.00	11266	528.00	11333	900.00
10427	4,320.00	11068	360.00	11194	504.00	11267	840.00	11334	456.00
Session 13									
U.S. Currency									
Internet Only									
Tuesday, November 19									
StacksBowers.com									
9:00 AM PT									
Lots 11001-11475									
11001	204.00	11083	576.00	11208	384.00	11278	576.00	11345	65.00
11002	360.00	11084	312.00	11209	540.00	11279	780.00	11346	384.00
11003	552.00	11088	216.00	11210	360.00	11280	336.00	11347	360.00
11004	720.00	11089	360.00	11211	456.00	11281	576.00	11348	360.00
11005	1,020.00	11092	504.00	11214	360.00	11282	900.00	11349	360.00
11006	576.00	11093	336.00	11215	432.00	11283	750.00	11350	240.00
11007	576.00	11094	336.00	11216	432.00	11284	110.00	11351	336.00
11008	264.00	11096	336.00	11217	552.00	11285	216.00	11352	216.00
11009	690.00	11098	240.00	11218	80.00	11286	360.00	11353	528.00
11010	360.00	11099	180.00	11219	1,320.00	11287	432.00	11354	384.00
11011	660.00	11100	408.00	11220	408.00	11288	480.00	11355	384.00
11012	780.00	11105	288.00	11221	432.00	11289	960.00	11356	1,560.00
11013	312.00	11108	384.00	11222	264.00	11290	360.00	11357	1,440.00
11014	840.00	11109	552.00	11224	480.00	11291	840.00	11358	660.00
11015	228.00	11110	360.00	11225	240.00	11292	1,440.00	11359	720.00
11016	216.00	11111	288.00	11226	552.00	11293	1,560.00	11360	3,120.00
11018	120.00	11112	360.00	11227	180.00	11294	600.00	11361	264.00
11019	384.00	11114	408.00	11228	384.00	11295	504.00	11362	180.00
11020	480.00	11115	110.00	11229	70.00	11296	480.00	11363	360.00
11023	288.00	11117	600.00	11230	384.00	11297	2,280.00	11364	288.00
11024	360.00	11118	65.00	11231	384.00	11298	1,440.00	11365	456.00
11025	312.00	11122	288.00	11232	192.00	11299	360.00	11366	432.00
11027	110.00	11123	456.00	11233	576.00	11300	720.00	11367	384.00
11030	312.00	11124	360.00	11234	360.00	11301	630.00	11368	432.00
11031	528.00								

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
11369	360.00	11463	168.00	12044	432.00	12117	115.00	12201	204.00
11370	504.00	11464	204.00	12045	480.00	12118	336.00	12202	180.00
11371	552.00	11465	288.00	12046	312.00	12119	180.00	12203	168.00
11373	204.00	11467	480.00	12047	264.00	12121	264.00	12204	180.00
11374	228.00	11468	288.00	12048	432.00	12122	192.00	12205	100.00
11375	228.00	11469	240.00	12049	384.00	12123	168.00	12206	132.00
11376	216.00	11470	264.00	12050	336.00	12125	192.00	12207	120.00
11377	480.00	11471	192.00	12051	228.00	12126	65.00	12208	288.00
11378	240.00	11473	552.00	12052	336.00	12127	192.00	12209	115.00
11379	480.00	11475	35.00	12053	384.00	12131	180.00	12211	132.00
11380	264.00			12054	240.00	12132	132.00	12212	180.00
11381	360.00			12055	408.00	12133	144.00	12213	156.00
11384	360.00			12056	480.00	12134	95.00	12214	95.00
11385	360.00			12057	168.00	12135	132.00	12215	168.00
11386	180.00			12058	288.00	12137	80.00	12216	264.00
11388	264.00			12059	264.00	12138	55.00	12217	168.00
11389	100.00			12060	168.00	12141	216.00	12219	180.00
11394	216.00			12061	168.00	12143	216.00	12220	90.00
11395	168.00			12062	264.00	12144	80.00	12221	85.00
11396	95.00			12063	264.00	12145	132.00	12222	144.00
11397	456.00			12064	288.00	12146	100.00	12223	312.00
11398	336.00			12065	360.00	12147	25.00	12224	312.00
11399	228.00			12066	264.00	12148	55.00	12225	192.00
11400	216.00			12067	264.00	12149	168.00	12226	110.00
11403	168.00	12001	312.00	12068	156.00	12150	216.00	12227	132.00
11404	192.00	12002	288.00	12069	65.00	12151	216.00	12228	264.00
11405	216.00	12003	132.00	12070	180.00	12152	156.00	12229	228.00
11406	192.00	12004	180.00	12071	216.00	12153	65.00	12231	156.00
11407	110.00	12005	360.00	12072	156.00	12154	70.00	12232	408.00
11408	288.00	12006	312.00	12073	192.00	12155	25.00	12233	80.00
11409	90.00	12007	168.00	12074	192.00	12156	70.00	12234	432.00
11410	75.00	12008	156.00	12075	288.00	12157	144.00	12235	192.00
11411	144.00	12009	264.00	12076	228.00	12158	120.00	12236	264.00
11412	80.00	12010	264.00	12077	312.00	12159	240.00	12237	408.00
11414	132.00	12011	264.00	12078	288.00	12160	180.00	12238	216.00
11415	180.00	12012	132.00	12079	216.00	12161	80.00	12239	312.00
11417	240.00	12013	156.00	12080	1,050.00	12162	156.00	12240	264.00
11419	168.00	12014	85.00	12081	216.00	12163	180.00	12241	144.00
11421	144.00	12015	360.00	12082	144.00	12164	216.00	12242	144.00
11423	110.00	12016	312.00	12083	204.00	12165	80.00	12243	105.00
11425	110.00	12017	85.00	12085	240.00	12167	240.00	12244	105.00
11428	156.00	12018	132.00	12087	156.00	12168	216.00	12245	90.00
11429	110.00	12019	288.00	12088	180.00	12170	156.00	12246	144.00
11430	408.00	12020	156.00	12089	288.00	12171	80.00	12247	70.00
11432	312.00	12021	168.00	12090	264.00	12173	45.00	12248	192.00
11433	156.00	12022	156.00	12091	216.00	12174	144.00	12249	384.00
11434	216.00	12023	110.00	12092	312.00	12175	144.00	12250	168.00
11436	216.00	12024	336.00	12093	192.00	12178	384.00	12251	900.00
11437	144.00	12025	55.00	12095	156.00	12179	60.00	12252	312.00
11438	110.00	12026	132.00	12096	115.00	12180	216.00	12253	156.00
11440	228.00	12027	264.00	12097	264.00	12181	120.00	12254	132.00
11443	132.00	12028	100.00	12098	192.00	12182	228.00	12255	168.00
11446	336.00	12029	156.00	12099	216.00	12183	156.00	12256	360.00
11447	120.00	12030	80.00	12101	192.00	12184	360.00	12257	192.00
11448	504.00	12031	132.00	12102	240.00	12186	180.00	12258	85.00
11449	312.00	12032	132.00	12103	336.00	12187	264.00	12259	288.00
11450	240.00	12033	504.00	12104	228.00	12188	264.00	12260	132.00
11451	384.00	12034	95.00	12105	264.00	12189	180.00	12262	65.00
11452	384.00	12035	216.00	12106	660.00	12190	312.00	12263	384.00
11453	456.00	12036	288.00	12107	288.00	12191	312.00	12264	384.00
11454	144.00	12037	240.00	12108	264.00	12192	120.00	12265	264.00
11455	216.00	12038	228.00	12109	192.00	12193	240.00	12266	720.00
11456	228.00	12039	228.00	12110	432.00	12194	528.00	12267	504.00
11457	360.00	12040	408.00	12111	180.00	12195	228.00	12268	312.00
11458	360.00	12041	156.00	12114	110.00	12196	204.00	12269	504.00
11459	132.00	12042	105.00	12115	288.00	12198	240.00	12270	660.00
11462	192.00	12043	110.00	12116	168.00	12200	288.00	12271	228.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
12272	384.00	12339	144.00	12406	264.00	12473	264.00	12540	85.00
12273	456.00	12340	504.00	12407	70.00	12474	192.00	12541	336.00
12274	228.00	12341	180.00	12408	60.00	12475	70.00	12542	70.00
12275	240.00	12342	100.00	12409	264.00	12476	216.00	12543	65.00
12276	312.00	12343	115.00	12410	228.00	12477	240.00	12544	105.00
12277	240.00	12344	204.00	12411	180.00	12478	384.00	12545	180.00
12278	132.00	12345	100.00	12412	105.00	12479	192.00	12546	144.00
12279	336.00	12346	660.00	12413	312.00	12480	70.00	12547	180.00
12280	120.00	12347	110.00	12414	90.00	12481	85.00	12548	55.00
12281	720.00	12348	456.00	12415	180.00	12482	408.00	12549	180.00
12282	216.00	12349	264.00	12416	120.00	12483	240.00	12550	65.00
12283	480.00	12350	336.00	12417	156.00	12484	312.00	12551	168.00
12284	192.00	12351	288.00	12418	85.00	12485	168.00	12552	384.00
12285	552.00	12352	264.00	12419	240.00	12486	132.00	12553	180.00
12286	288.00	12353	144.00	12420	144.00	12487	144.00	12554	360.00
12287	504.00	12354	156.00	12421	120.00	12488	105.00	12555	156.00
12288	336.00	12355	264.00	12422	95.00	12489	132.00	12556	75.00
12289	336.00	12356	288.00	12423	55.00	12490	110.00	12557	105.00
12290	264.00	12357	408.00	12424	132.00	12491	192.00	12558	60.00
12291	690.00	12358	110.00	12425	180.00	12492	264.00	12559	144.00
12292	288.00	12359	240.00	12426	120.00	12493	60.00	12560	156.00
12293	105.00	12360	264.00	12427	95.00	12494	204.00	12561	264.00
12294	264.00	12361	75.00	12428	100.00	12495	240.00	12562	144.00
12295	168.00	12362	105.00	12429	408.00	12496	504.00	12563	55.00
12296	156.00	12363	336.00	12430	228.00	12497	168.00	12564	312.00
12297	336.00	12364	132.00	12431	180.00	12498	80.00	12565	65.00
12298	192.00	12365	240.00	12432	180.00	12499	204.00	12566	180.00
12299	384.00	12366	115.00	12433	80.00	12500	55.00	12567	100.00
12300	288.00	12367	336.00	12434	75.00	12501	50.00	12568	264.00
12301	144.00	12368	480.00	12435	65.00	12502	105.00	12569	288.00
12302	480.00	12369	384.00	12436	156.00	12503	156.00	12570	105.00
12303	120.00	12370	384.00	12437	120.00	12504	336.00	12571	264.00
12304	360.00	12371	192.00	12438	264.00	12505	1,800.00	12572	85.00
12305	312.00	12372	216.00	12439	132.00	12506	180.00	12573	312.00
12306	336.00	12373	192.00	12440	100.00	12507	384.00	12574	240.00
12307	456.00	12374	105.00	12441	660.00	12508	192.00	12575	228.00
12308	384.00	12375	192.00	12442	168.00	12509	132.00	12576	70.00
12309	264.00	12376	312.00	12443	156.00	12510	144.00	12577	50.00
12310	180.00	12377	180.00	12444	120.00	12511	132.00	12578	50.00
12311	264.00	12378	144.00	12445	408.00	12512	288.00	12579	144.00
12312	384.00	12379	115.00	12446	432.00	12513	156.00	12580	180.00
12313	336.00	12380	144.00	12447	312.00	12514	65.00	12581	95.00
12314	432.00	12381	408.00	12448	264.00	12515	192.00	12582	55.00
12315	144.00	12382	216.00	12449	85.00	12516	75.00	12583	144.00
12316	360.00	12383	100.00	12450	216.00	12517	120.00	12584	192.00
12317	264.00	12384	288.00	12451	288.00	12518	115.00	12585	180.00
12318	168.00	12385	168.00	12452	216.00	12519	288.00	12586	312.00
12319	264.00	12386	216.00	12453	228.00	12520	75.00	12587	90.00
12320	204.00	12387	408.00	12454	180.00	12521	90.00	12588	168.00
12321	144.00	12388	65.00	12455	288.00	12522	120.00	12589	60.00
12322	288.00	12389	156.00	12456	192.00	12523	70.00	12590	80.00
12323	120.00	12390	168.00	12457	115.00	12524	105.00	12591	75.00
12324	132.00	12391	264.00	12458	288.00	12525	85.00	12592	65.00
12325	312.00	12392	180.00	12459	600.00	12526	80.00	12593	264.00
12326	288.00	12393	100.00	12460	192.00	12527	90.00	12594	180.00
12327	264.00	12394	204.00	12461	384.00	12528	100.00	12595	85.00
12328	240.00	12395	80.00	12462	95.00	12529	120.00	12596	144.00
12329	75.00	12396	408.00	12463	75.00	12530	132.00	12597	228.00
12330	360.00	12397	105.00	12464	132.00	12531	80.00	12598	288.00
12331	110.00	12398	144.00	12465	408.00	12532	156.00	12599	120.00
12332	115.00	12399	50.00	12466	192.00	12533	180.00	12600	70.00
12333	432.00	12400	180.00	12467	288.00	12534	95.00	12601	240.00
12334	168.00	12401	192.00	12468	65.00	12535	70.00	12602	144.00
12335	110.00	12402	144.00	12469	85.00	12536	312.00	12603	264.00
12336	180.00	12403	228.00	12470	132.00	12537	264.00	12604	144.00
12337	384.00	12404	132.00	12471	216.00	12538	204.00	12605	180.00
12338	192.00	12405	180.00	12472	192.00	12539	180.00	12606	85.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
12607	50.00	12674	384.00	12744	264.00	12817	552.00	13038	630.00
12608	75.00	12675	144.00	12745	360.00	12818	432.00	13039	1,320.00
12609	105.00	12676	840.00	12746	168.00	12819	312.00	13040	240.00
12610	384.00	12677	216.00	12747	120.00	12820	840.00	13041	288.00
12611	45.00	12678	336.00	12748	90.00	12821	1,080.00	13042	70.00
12612	115.00	12679	384.00	12749	264.00	12823	660.00	13043	105.00
12613	80.00	12680	336.00	12750	360.00	12824	660.00	13044	156.00
12614	144.00	12681	456.00	12751	720.00	12825	360.00	13045	132.00
12615	204.00	12682	900.00	12752	264.00	12826	960.00	13046	336.00
12616	70.00	12683	288.00	12753	192.00	12827	360.00	13047	105.00
12617	75.00	12684	264.00	12754	132.00	12828	504.00	13048	384.00
12618	65.00	12685	840.00	12756	660.00	12829	156.00	13049	105.00
12619	168.00	12686	312.00	12758	95.00	12830	360.00	13050	312.00
12620	90.00	12687	504.00	12759	132.00	12831	240.00	13051	120.00
12621	65.00	12688	504.00	12761	432.00	12832	264.00	13052	60.00
12622	65.00	12689	75.00	12762	120.00	12833	156.00	13053	384.00
12623	228.00	12690	180.00	12763	144.00			13054	432.00
12624	55.00	12691	660.00	12764	120.00			13055	360.00
12625	50.00	12692	750.00	12765	144.00			13056	120.00
12626	100.00	12693	720.00	12766	132.00			13057	228.00
12627	70.00	12694	480.00	12768	216.00			13058	240.00
12628	50.00	12695	600.00	12769	192.00			13059	228.00
12629	85.00	12696	432.00	12771	115.00			13060	288.00
12630	40.00	12697	840.00	12772	144.00			13061	240.00
12631	312.00	12698	480.00	12773	204.00			13062	156.00
12632	85.00	12699	840.00	12774	168.00			13063	168.00
12633	55.00	12700	105.00	12775	600.00			13064	45.00
12634	105.00	12701	85.00	12776	240.00			13065	156.00
12635	192.00	12702	528.00	12777	216.00			13066	65.00
12636	132.00	12703	85.00	12778	120.00			13067	552.00
12637	264.00	12704	115.00	12779	528.00			13068	156.00
12638	360.00	12705	180.00	12780	780.00	13001	690.00	13069	120.00
12639	660.00	12706	95.00	12781	204.00	13002	360.00	13070	70.00
12640	40.00	12707	408.00	12782	144.00	13003	144.00	13071	288.00
12641	432.00	12708	384.00	12783	132.00	13004	240.00	13072	95.00
12642	264.00	12709	660.00	12784	132.00	13005	65.00	13073	216.00
12643	336.00	12710	600.00	12785	288.00	13006	105.00	13074	660.00
12644	504.00	12711	504.00	12786	216.00	13007	192.00	13075	312.00
12645	216.00	12712	228.00	12787	204.00	13008	840.00	13076	336.00
12646	288.00	12713	360.00	12788	660.00	13009	120.00	13077	408.00
12647	70.00	12714	432.00	12789	432.00	13010	216.00	13078	264.00
12648	192.00	12715	504.00	12790	552.00	13011	120.00	13079	65.00
12649	192.00	12716	360.00	12791	432.00	13012	720.00	13080	288.00
12650	408.00	12717	360.00	12792	144.00	13013	660.00	13081	115.00
12651	336.00	12718	600.00	12793	228.00	13014	408.00	13082	105.00
12652	228.00	12719	960.00	12794	120.00	13015	100.00	13083	192.00
12653	384.00	12721	240.00	12795	504.00	13016	100.00	13084	312.00
12654	720.00	12722	240.00	12796	336.00	13017	780.00	13085	600.00
12655	336.00	12723	408.00	12797	264.00	13018	360.00	13086	204.00
12656	360.00	12726	408.00	12798	228.00	13019	144.00	13087	630.00
12657	204.00	12727	264.00	12799	228.00	13020	144.00	13088	360.00
12658	780.00	12728	480.00	12800	312.00	13021	660.00	13089	50.00
12659	384.00	12729	780.00	12801	228.00	13022	132.00	13090	264.00
12660	432.00	12730	360.00	12802	115.00	13023	132.00	13091	312.00
12661	432.00	12731	456.00	12803	720.00	13024	156.00	13092	312.00
12662	312.00	12732	312.00	12804	600.00	13025	630.00	13093	312.00
12663	336.00	12733	180.00	12805	156.00	13026	480.00	13094	156.00
12664	360.00	12734	240.00	12806	204.00	13027	900.00	13095	312.00
12665	264.00	12735	180.00	12807	780.00	13028	85.00	13096	552.00
12666	780.00	12736	168.00	12808	840.00	13029	360.00	13097	312.00
12667	528.00	12737	720.00	12809	264.00	13030	576.00	13098	228.00
12668	85.00	12738	70.00	12810	180.00	13031	288.00	13099	312.00
12669	240.00	12739	192.00	12812	264.00	13032	132.00	13100	216.00
12670	288.00	12740	504.00	12813	504.00	13033	288.00	13101	75.00
12671	144.00	12741	840.00	12814	780.00	13034	900.00	13102	70.00
12672	288.00	12742	85.00	12815	600.00	13035	288.00	13103	115.00
12673	168.00	12743	90.00	12816	105.00	13036	720.00	13104	384.00
						13037	336.00		

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
13105	240.00	13176	930.00	13246	600.00	13320	336.00	13390	504.00
13106	180.00	13177	95.00	13247	132.00	13321	144.00	13391	660.00
13107	168.00	13178	95.00	13248	840.00	13322	336.00	13392	1,020.00
13108	168.00	13179	90.00	13249	264.00	13323	600.00	13393	720.00
13109	132.00	13180	85.00	13250	720.00	13324	288.00	13394	780.00
13110	168.00	13181	90.00	13251	168.00	13326	360.00	13395	720.00
13111	930.00	13182	90.00	13252	132.00	13327	95.00	13396	960.00
13112	720.00	13183	115.00	13253	900.00	13328	552.00	13397	840.00
13113	132.00	13184	95.00	13254	120.00	13329	156.00	13398	528.00
13114	288.00	13185	90.00	13255	65.00	13330	1,320.00	13399	336.00
13115	180.00	13186	156.00	13256	80.00	13331	480.00	13400	408.00
13116	336.00	13187	120.00	13258	192.00	13332	204.00	13401	336.00
13117	360.00	13189	80.00	13259	168.00	13333	336.00	13402	192.00
13118	180.00	13190	408.00	13260	900.00	13334	264.00	13403	180.00
13119	780.00	13191	960.00	13261	264.00	13335	600.00	13404	204.00
13120	432.00	13192	528.00	13262	384.00	13336	80.00	13405	168.00
13121	168.00	13193	312.00	13263	168.00	13337	288.00	13406	75.00
13122	115.00	13194	264.00	13264	105.00	13338	144.00	13407	65.00
13124	132.00	13195	228.00	13265	384.00	13339	132.00	13408	85.00
13125	660.00	13196	216.00	13266	85.00	13340	336.00	13409	168.00
13126	216.00	13197	264.00	13268	288.00	13341	504.00	13410	80.00
13127	156.00	13198	228.00	13269	90.00	13342	660.00	13411	95.00
13128	144.00	13199	336.00	13270	240.00	13343	336.00	13412	204.00
13129	432.00	13200	240.00	13271	840.00	13344	192.00	13413	432.00
13130	240.00	13201	1,140.00	13273	65.00	13345	228.00	13414	336.00
13131	264.00	13202	432.00	13274	432.00	13346	336.00	13415	360.00
13132	240.00	13203	3,120.00	13275	2,160.00	13347	204.00	13416	312.00
13133	132.00	13204	1,200.00	13276	312.00	13348	132.00	13417	528.00
13134	168.00	13205	990.00	13278	576.00	13349	1,320.00	13418	240.00
13135	192.00	13206	990.00	13280	660.00	13350	312.00	13419	115.00
13136	216.00	13207	900.00	13281	55.00	13351	168.00	13420	780.00
13137	156.00	13208	156.00	13282	1,800.00	13352	432.00	13421	456.00
13138	228.00	13209	1,080.00	13283	1,800.00	13353	168.00	13422	204.00
13139	240.00	13210	228.00	13284	840.00	13354	528.00	13424	132.00
13140	336.00	13211	132.00	13285	576.00	13355	312.00	13425	132.00
13141	552.00	13212	336.00	13287	105.00	13356	360.00	13426	1,080.00
13142	168.00	13213	336.00	13288	2,280.00	13357	75.00	13427	840.00
13143	240.00	13214	216.00	13289	288.00	13358	90.00	13428	720.00
13144	204.00	13215	240.00	13290	120.00	13359	288.00	13429	528.00
13145	115.00	13216	1,020.00	13291	288.00	13360	312.00	13430	432.00
13146	180.00	13217	690.00	13292	204.00	13361	600.00	13431	384.00
13147	105.00	13218	552.00	13293	168.00	13362	780.00	13432	720.00
13148	204.00	13219	504.00	13294	60.00	13363	576.00	13433	780.00
13149	384.00	13220	408.00	13295	1,020.00	13364	216.00	13434	204.00
13150	180.00	13221	1,320.00	13296	288.00	13365	456.00	13435	480.00
13151	780.00	13222	204.00	13297	25.00	13368	1,200.00	13437	120.00
13153	100.00	13223	192.00	13298	105.00	13369	1,080.00	13438	930.00
13154	60.00	13224	95.00	13299	40.00	13370	576.00	13439	576.00
13155	144.00	13225	192.00	13300	35.00	13371	456.00	13440	840.00
13156	336.00	13226	228.00	13301	35.00	13372	384.00	13441	456.00
13157	360.00	13227	408.00	13302	25.00	13373	408.00	13442	456.00
13158	264.00	13228	900.00	13304	105.00	13374	240.00	13443	408.00
13159	144.00	13229	240.00	13305	156.00	13375	504.00	13444	384.00
13160	870.00	13230	576.00	13306	60.00	13376	384.00	13445	264.00
13161	720.00	13231	720.00	13307	70.00	13377	312.00	13446	110.00
13162	432.00	13232	504.00	13308	288.00	13378	780.00	13447	192.00
13163	504.00	13233	720.00	13309	528.00	13379	720.00	13449	95.00
13164	384.00	13234	336.00	13310	900.00	13380	336.00	13450	840.00
13166	132.00	13235	432.00	13311	156.00	13381	456.00	13451	408.00
13167	456.00	13236	504.00	13312	132.00	13382	900.00	13452	216.00
13168	432.00	13237	360.00	13313	80.00	13383	288.00	13453	216.00
13169	660.00	13238	156.00	13314	156.00	13384	690.00	13454	264.00
13170	432.00	13239	1,080.00	13315	120.00	13385	630.00	13455	192.00
13171	120.00	13240	576.00	13316	85.00	13386	960.00	13456	192.00
13172	264.00	13242	240.00	13317	528.00	13387	528.00	13457	216.00
13174	132.00	13243	204.00	13318	480.00	13388	384.00	13458	216.00
13175	1,320.00	13244	75.00	13319	5,040.00	13389	600.00	13459	156.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
13460	144.00	13527	120.00	13594	115.00	13662	264.00	13731	720.00
13461	720.00	13528	168.00	13595	720.00	13663	156.00	13732	900.00
13462	288.00	13529	480.00	13596	960.00	13664	840.00	13733	900.00
13463	120.00	13530	115.00	13597	156.00	13665	288.00	13734	720.00
13464	288.00	13531	432.00	13598	80.00	13666	288.00	13735	900.00
13465	312.00	13532	105.00	13599	144.00	13667	204.00	13736	750.00
13466	204.00	13533	80.00	13600	120.00	13668	528.00	13737	930.00
13467	216.00	13534	528.00	13601	85.00	13669	408.00	13738	960.00
13468	216.00	13535	408.00	13602	105.00	13670	180.00	13739	780.00
13469	228.00	13536	720.00	13603	168.00	13671	288.00	13740	960.00
13470	228.00	13537	504.00	13604	144.00	13672	240.00	13741	750.00
13471	216.00	13538	168.00	13605	115.00	13673	240.00	13742	900.00
13472	192.00	13539	720.00	13606	105.00	13674	144.00	13743	1,020.00
13473	204.00	13540	115.00	13607	156.00	13675	264.00	13744	780.00
13474	192.00	13541	204.00	13608	180.00	13676	204.00	13745	720.00
13475	204.00	13542	95.00	13609	132.00	13677	384.00	13746	780.00
13476	204.00	13543	75.00	13610	240.00	13678	384.00	13747	780.00
13477	204.00	13544	750.00	13611	204.00	13679	480.00	13748	1,560.00
13478	110.00	13545	600.00	13612	336.00	13680	312.00	13749	1,560.00
13479	105.00	13546	2,400.00	13613	360.00	13681	204.00	13750	1,740.00
13480	660.00	13547	336.00	13614	180.00	13682	216.00	13751	1,680.00
13481	192.00	13548	132.00	13615	85.00	13683	312.00	13752	1,440.00
13482	312.00	13549	720.00	13616	105.00	13684	312.00	13753	1,440.00
13483	216.00	13550	204.00	13617	90.00	13685	900.00	13754	1,920.00
13484	204.00	13551	288.00	13618	105.00	13686	288.00	13755	1,800.00
13485	216.00	13552	204.00	13619	384.00	13687	216.00	13756	1,440.00
13486	192.00	13553	552.00	13620	168.00	13688	600.00	13757	1,560.00
13487	192.00	13554	240.00	13621	552.00	13689	288.00	13758	1,500.00
13488	192.00	13555	156.00	13623	90.00	13690	240.00	13759	1,440.00
13489	192.00	13556	900.00	13624	408.00	13691	630.00	13760	1,800.00
13490	204.00	13557	480.00	13625	132.00	13692	432.00	13761	1,560.00
13491	204.00	13558	456.00	13626	240.00	13693	660.00	13762	1,560.00
13492	204.00	13559	110.00	13627	144.00	13695	264.00	13763	1,560.00
13493	216.00	13560	312.00	13628	105.00	13696	870.00	13764	1,680.00
13494	204.00	13561	144.00	13629	780.00	13697	312.00	13765	1,860.00
13495	204.00	13562	50.00	13630	312.00	13698	480.00	13766	1,560.00
13496	204.00	13563	144.00	13631	228.00	13699	336.00	13767	1,440.00
13497	336.00	13564	384.00	13632	240.00	13700	240.00	13768	1,440.00
13498	120.00	13565	156.00	13633	576.00	13701	900.00	13769	1,440.00
13499	100.00	13566	204.00	13634	264.00	13702	384.00	13770	1,560.00
13500	105.00	13567	228.00	13635	240.00	13703	552.00	13771	1,440.00
13501	180.00	13568	228.00	13636	192.00	13705	456.00	13772	1,920.00
13502	95.00	13569	228.00	13637	312.00	13706	264.00	13773	1,560.00
13503	240.00	13570	312.00	13638	408.00	13707	336.00	13774	1,500.00
13504	990.00	13571	75.00	13639	240.00	13708	504.00	13775	1,440.00
13505	552.00	13572	720.00	13640	900.00	13709	630.00	13776	1,500.00
13506	528.00	13573	1,020.00	13641	168.00	13710	408.00	13777	1,440.00
13507	528.00	13574	115.00	13642	90.00	13711	840.00	13778	1,680.00
13508	528.00	13575	840.00	13643	528.00	13712	780.00	13779	1,500.00
13509	336.00	13576	720.00	13644	192.00	13713	990.00	13780	1,440.00
13510	85.00	13577	780.00	13645	336.00	13714	630.00	13782	228.00
13511	105.00	13578	288.00	13646	336.00	13715	456.00	13783	600.00
13512	95.00	13579	336.00	13647	312.00	13716	480.00	13784	384.00
13513	144.00	13580	180.00	13648	192.00	13717	432.00	13785	312.00
13514	180.00	13581	528.00	13649	312.00	13718	750.00	13786	180.00
13515	228.00	13582	216.00	13650	480.00	13719	552.00	13787	168.00
13516	192.00	13583	504.00	13651	264.00	13720	780.00	13788	180.00
13517	120.00	13584	95.00	13652	780.00	13721	780.00	13789	456.00
13518	600.00	13585	115.00	13653	528.00	13722	1,020.00	13790	432.00
13519	240.00	13586	600.00	13654	552.00	13723	384.00	13791	180.00
13520	180.00	13587	168.00	13655	720.00	13724	432.00	13792	105.00
13521	240.00	13588	780.00	13656	204.00	13725	384.00	13793	132.00
13522	204.00	13589	432.00	13657	120.00	13726	900.00	13794	132.00
13523	132.00	13590	408.00	13658	780.00	13727	720.00	13795	168.00
13524	408.00	13591	384.00	13659	288.00	13728	720.00	13796	105.00
13525	105.00	13592	384.00	13660	120.00	13729	810.00	13797	120.00
13526	80.00	13593	90.00	13661	216.00	13730	720.00	13798	90.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
13799	132.00	13871	630.00	13939	264.00	20049	19,800.00	20116	960.00
13800	90.00	13872	408.00	13940	168.00	20050	48,000.00	20117	1,920.00
13801	720.00	13873	264.00	13941	144.00	20051	30,000.00	20118	2,640.00
13802	312.00	13874	384.00	13942	660.00	20052	96,000.00	20119	2,040.00
13803	156.00	13875	600.00	13943	65.00	20053	27,600.00	20120	7,200.00
13804	110.00	13876	432.00	13944	85.00	20054	20,400.00	20121	6,600.00
13805	192.00	13877	576.00	13945	3,840.00	20055	9,600.00	20122	4,800.00
13806	95.00	13878	384.00			20056	4,560.00	20123	1,140.00
13807	70.00	13879	264.00			20057	4,560.00	20124	1,680.00
13808	156.00	13880	204.00			20058	4,080.00	20125	1,680.00
13809	156.00	13881	288.00			20059	38,400.00	20126	3,120.00
13810	480.00	13882	312.00			20060	33,600.00	20127	504.00
13811	264.00	13883	660.00			20061	13,200.00	20128	2,520.00
13812	180.00	13884	720.00			20062	3,240.00	20129	1,860.00
13813	144.00	13885	1,020.00			20063	1,920.00	20130	1,620.00
13814	552.00	13886	660.00			20064	2,400.00	20131	3,120.00
13815	432.00	13887	960.00			20065	3,600.00	20132	7,800.00
13816	432.00	13888	480.00			20066	3,120.00	20133	1,800.00
13817	456.00	13889	576.00			20067	4,320.00	20134	156.00
13818	85.00	13890	360.00	20001	3,840.00	20068	2,040.00	20135	4,800.00
13819	120.00	13891	336.00	20002	2,040.00	20069	5,280.00	20136	10,800.00
13820	576.00	13892	288.00	20003	28,800.00	20070	2,880.00	20137	1,560.00
13821	144.00	13893	288.00	20004	660.00	20071	6,000.00	20138	2,400.00
13822	100.00	13894	1,920.00	20005	720.00	20072	1,800.00	20139	2,400.00
13823	132.00	13895	1,860.00	20006	9,600.00	20073	4,080.00	20140	11,400.00
13824	65.00	13896	840.00	20007	7,800.00	20074	144.00	20141	2,400.00
13825	120.00	13897	1,560.00	20008	14,400.00	20075	2,880.00	20142	1,920.00
13826	75.00	13898	1,500.00	20009	4,080.00	20076	16,800.00	20143	2,160.00
13827	50.00	13899	1,560.00	20010	2,400.00	20077	52,800.00	20144	2,400.00
13828	168.00	13900	5,280.00	20011	5,760.00	20078	11,400.00	20145	2,400.00
13829	90.00	13901	384.00	20012	9,600.00	20079	33,600.00	20146	2,640.00
13830	100.00	13902	384.00	20013	2,640.00	20080	7,800.00	20147	45,600.00
13831	264.00	13903	264.00	20014	2,640.00	20081	6,600.00	20148	14,400.00
13832	480.00	13904	360.00	20015	1,440.00	20082	6,000.00	20149	1,320.00
13833	336.00	13905	456.00	20016	1,020.00	20083	6,600.00	20150	720.00
13834	840.00	13906	80.00	20017	2,880.00	20084	19,200.00	20151	5,040.00
13835	384.00	13907	240.00	20018	21,600.00	20085	5,040.00	20152	2,640.00
13836	1,080.00	13908	264.00	20019	1,560.00	20086	1,680.00	20153	2,280.00
13837	192.00	13909	105.00	20020	720.00	20087	3,120.00	20154	1,320.00
13838	156.00	13910	168.00	20021	840.00	20088	2,160.00	20155	9,600.00
13839	288.00	13911	115.00	20022	13,200.00	20089	7,200.00	20156	6,000.00
13840	264.00	13912	216.00	20023	78,000.00	20090	5,520.00	20157	1,800.00
13841	204.00	13913	168.00	20024	9,000.00	20091	3,360.00	20158	960.00
13842	216.00	13914	780.00	20025	9,600.00	20092	1,680.00	20159	5,520.00
13843	204.00	13915	144.00	20026	5,520.00	20093	660.00	20160	720.00
13844	720.00	13916	144.00	20027	5,760.00	20094	336.00	20161	1,440.00
13845	504.00	13918	80.00	20028	3,120.00	20095	2,640.00	20162	1,440.00
13846	95.00	13919	1,560.00	20029	1,680.00	20096	960.00	20163	1,920.00
13847	65.00	13920	1,440.00	20030	660.00	20097	660.00	20164	720.00
13848	660.00	13921	1,440.00	20031	5,520.00	20098	5,280.00	20165	1,020.00
13849	80.00	13922	85.00	20032	7,800.00	20099	3,840.00	20166	552.00
13850	132.00	13923	144.00	20033	7,800.00	20100	5,520.00	20167	660.00
13851	192.00	13924	960.00	20034	21,600.00	20101	5,040.00	20168	2,640.00
13852	168.00	13925	216.00	20035	1,680.00	20102	960.00	20169	960.00
13853	180.00	13926	528.00	20036	9,600.00	20103	660.00	20170	720.00
13854	105.00	13927	264.00	20037	3,120.00	20104	5,040.00	20171	960.00
13855	810.00	13928	528.00	20038	2,880.00	20105	1,140.00	20172	600.00
13856	168.00	13929	264.00	20039	780.00	20106	6,600.00	20173	408.00
13857	115.00	13930	264.00	20040	1,080.00	20107	3,000.00	20174	780.00
13860	660.00	13931	216.00	20041	660.00	20108	1,080.00	20175	480.00
13863	336.00	13932	336.00	20042	2,160.00	20109	1,140.00	20176	1,200.00
13865	156.00	13933	336.00	20043	1,320.00	20110	1,200.00	20177	528.00
13866	156.00	13934	228.00	20044	1,920.00	20111	960.00	20178	576.00
13867	115.00	13935	240.00	20045	2,520.00	20112	2,880.00	20179	840.00
13868	264.00	13936	240.00	20046	1,440.00	20113	1,200.00	20180	660.00
13869	528.00	13937	228.00	20047	2,880.00	20114	2,640.00	20181	1,200.00
13870	360.00	13938	456.00	20048	43,200.00	20115	960.00	20182	528.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
20183	.660.00	20250	1,080.00	20317	.840.00	20384	1,560.00	20451	.960.00
20184	1,020.00	20251	.660.00	20318	1,560.00	20385	1,140.00	20452	.600.00
20185	.552.00	20252	.660.00	20319	1,140.00	20386	1,140.00	20453	.240.00
20186	.780.00	20253	.660.00	20320	1,080.00	20387	1,560.00	20454	.456.00
20187	.660.00	20254	.660.00	20321	2,880.00	20388	1,320.00	20455	.660.00
20188	.780.00	20255	2,280.00	20322	3,360.00	20389	1,140.00	20456	1,200.00
20189	.504.00	20256	2,280.00	20323	2,040.00	20390	1,020.00	20457	.1,080.00
20190	.432.00	20257	3,120.00	20324	2,880.00	20391	1,080.00	20458	.1,140.00
20191	.504.00	20258	.960.00	20325	.720.00	20392	1,020.00	20459	.660.00
20192	.384.00	20259	.900.00	20326	.900.00	20393	1,020.00	20460	.1,020.00
20193	.384.00	20260	.840.00	20327	.780.00	20394	1,320.00	20461	.780.00
20194	.660.00	20261	3,840.00	20328	.360.00	20395	1,080.00	20462	.780.00
20195	.552.00	20262	.840.00	20329	.528.00	20396	1,140.00	20463	.960.00
20196	.384.00	20263	1,320.00	20330	1,080.00	20397	.780.00	20464	2,040.00
20197	1,560.00	20264	.660.00	20331	.456.00	20398	1,320.00	20465	.576.00
20198	.840.00	20265	1,320.00	20332	1,680.00	20399	1,020.00	20466	.1,440.00
20199	.660.00	20266	.660.00	20333	2,280.00	20400	1,200.00	20467	.384.00
20200	.660.00	20267	.720.00	20334	1,560.00	20401	1,800.00	20468	2,880.00
20201	.504.00	20268	1,140.00	20335	.660.00	20402	1,200.00	20469	.900.00
20202	.960.00	20269	1,440.00	20336	.660.00	20403	.840.00	20470	1,320.00
20203	.660.00	20270	1,320.00	20337	.660.00	20404	.960.00	20471	.312.00
20204	.660.00	20271	5,520.00	20338	.504.00	20405	.960.00	20472	.600.00
20205	1,320.00	20272	3,120.00	20339	.528.00	20406	1,440.00	20473	.384.00
20206	.780.00	20273	3,120.00	20340	1,560.00	20407	.660.00	20474	.384.00
20207	.552.00	20274	9,600.00	20341	1,680.00	20408	.780.00	20475	.576.00
20208	.384.00	20275	3,120.00	20342	1,680.00	20409	.900.00	20476	.384.00
20209	.720.00	20276	2,040.00	20343	2,400.00	20410	.900.00	20477	.1,080.00
20210	.660.00	20277	.960.00	20344	.480.00	20411	.660.00	20478	.2,400.00
20211	.504.00	20278	.840.00	20345	.576.00	20412	.720.00	20479	.1,920.00
20212	3,600.00	20279	13,200.00	20346	.780.00	20413	1,440.00	20480	.576.00
20213	.960.00	20280	.1,200.00	20347	.780.00	20414	2,040.00	20481	10,800.00
20214	.504.00	20281	2,280.00	20348	.660.00	20415	.504.00	20482	.1,200.00
20215	4,320.00	20282	1,320.00	20349	.600.00	20416	2,280.00	20483	3,360.00
20216	2,640.00	20283	1,140.00	20350	.576.00	20417	1,440.00	20484	1,680.00
20217	.660.00	20284	2,040.00	20351	.576.00	20418	.480.00	20485	1,680.00
20218	.840.00	20285	1,080.00	20352	.660.00	20419	1,920.00	20486	1,680.00
20219	.660.00	20286	3,600.00	20353	.660.00	20420	.1,800.00	20487	1,320.00
20220	1,020.00	20287	.2,160.00	20354	.720.00	20421	3,120.00	20488	.1,680.00
20221	1,020.00	20288	.2,160.00	20355	.720.00	20422	14,400.00	20489	.1,080.00
20222	1,320.00	20289	1,560.00	20356	.720.00	20423	2,880.00	20490	.1,440.00
20223	1,320.00	20290	1,320.00	20357	.720.00	20424	.2,160.00	20491	21,000.00
20224	1,920.00	20291	.2,160.00	20358	.660.00	20425	.660.00	20492	.9,000.00
20225	1,320.00	20292	2,640.00	20359	.780.00	20426	.504.00	20493	.9,600.00
20226	1,020.00	20293	1,560.00	20360	.840.00	20427	.900.00	20494	.1,140.00
20227	3,840.00	20294	2,280.00	20361	.780.00	20428	.552.00	20495	.1,080.00
20228	1,320.00	20295	2,160.00	20362	1,320.00	20429	4,320.00	20496	.552.00
20229	1,512.00	20296	3,840.00	20363	1,440.00	20430	.432.00	20497	.900.00
20230	2,640.00	20297	4,080.00	20364	.840.00	20431	.384.00	20498	.1,140.00
20231	1,440.00	20298	3,360.00	20365	1,920.00	20432	1,560.00	20499	.2,160.00
20232	1,020.00	20299	3,360.00	20366	1,920.00	20433	.2,160.00	20500	.2,400.00
20233	2,280.00	20300	3,600.00	20367	.840.00	20434	.432.00	20501	.384.00
20234	.552.00	20301	3,120.00	20368	1,080.00	20435	.384.00	20502	1,200.00
20235	4,320.00	20302	3,600.00	20369	1,320.00	20436	.384.00	20503	1,320.00
20236	1,320.00	20303	3,600.00	20370	4,320.00	20437	.384.00	20504	.1,800.00
20237	.552.00	20304	2,640.00	20371	1,200.00	20438	.2,040.00	20505	.1,920.00
20238	.720.00	20305	4,320.00	20372	1,440.00	20439	.2,160.00	20506	.2,880.00
20239	13,200.00	20306	4,800.00	20373	1,140.00	20440	.2,280.00	20507	.2,280.00
20240	2,040.00	20307	4,560.00	20374	1,140.00	20441	.504.00	20508	.2,400.00
20241	1,320.00	20308	.3,840.00	20375	.960.00	20442	.576.00	20509	3,360.00
20242	2,400.00	20309	.5,040.00	20376	1,020.00	20443	.600.00	20510	.2,880.00
20243	3,360.00	20310	.2,400.00	20377	1,140.00	20444	.384.00	20511	4,800.00
20244	1,320.00	20311	4,080.00	20378	1,080.00	20445	1,080.00	20512	.2,400.00
20245	1,020.00	20312	.1,140.00	20379	1,200.00	20446	.900.00	20513	5,280.00
20246	.840.00	20313	.900.00	20380	1,200.00	20447	.900.00	20514	1,320.00
20247	.660.00	20314	.1,140.00	20381	1,320.00	20448	.840.00	20515	.3,840.00
20248	1,920.00	20315	1,320.00	20382	1,560.00	20449	.480.00	20516	.1,680.00
20249	.660.00	20316	1,560.00	20383	1,140.00	20450	.2,400.00	20517	1,800.00

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

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Lot No.	Price Realized								
20518	1,680.00	20585	660.00	20652	900.00	20719	1,440.00	21012	1,320.00
20519	1,320.00	20586	840.00	20653	1,320.00	20720	384.00	21013	1,140.00
20520	1,200.00	20587	600.00	20654	1,560.00	20721	900.00	21014	900.00
20521	3,120.00	20588	720.00	20655	1,680.00	20722	1,140.00	21015	432.00
20522	1,560.00	20589	576.00	20656	2,880.00	20723	552.00	21016	384.00
20523	2,040.00	20590	780.00	20657	2,640.00	20724	720.00	21017	720.00
20524	2,280.00	20591	1,560.00	20658	3,360.00	20725	2,040.00	21018	384.00
20525	1,080.00	20592	840.00	20659	1,140.00	20726	1,140.00	21019	180.00
20526	1,080.00	20593	660.00	20660	1,320.00	20727	1,140.00	21020	204.00
20527	900.00	20594	504.00	20661	1,200.00	20728	480.00	21021	552.00
20528	1,020.00	20595	660.00	20662	1,200.00	20729	840.00	21022	240.00
20529	1,140.00	20596	504.00	20663	1,560.00	20730	720.00	21023	360.00
20530	1,140.00	20597	600.00	20664	1,920.00	20731	900.00	21024	312.00
20531	1,320.00	20598	528.00	20665	1,020.00	20732	1,140.00	21025	576.00
20532	1,020.00	20599	720.00	20666	780.00	20733	1,440.00	21026	720.00
20533	660.00	20600	1,020.00	20667	1,020.00	20734	1,560.00	21027	1,200.00
20534	1,140.00	20601	960.00	20668	1,080.00	20735	1,560.00	21028	1,620.00
20535	780.00	20602	1,080.00	20669	3,840.00	20736	960.00	21029	660.00
20536	900.00	20603	1,080.00	20670	1,200.00	20737	1,680.00	21030	780.00
20537	1,080.00	20604	384.00	20671	1,320.00	20738	960.00	21031	1,080.00
20538	1,140.00	20605	1,140.00	20672	780.00	20739	1,080.00	21032	720.00
20539	960.00	20606	1,020.00	20673	840.00	20740	1,020.00	21033	1,200.00
20540	1,140.00	20607	960.00	20674	1,440.00	20741	840.00	21034	528.00
20541	1,320.00	20608	1,200.00	20675	2,640.00	20742	840.00	21035	1,140.00
20542	552.00	20609	504.00	20676	192.00	20743	720.00	21036	7,800.00
20543	384.00	20610	1,140.00	20677	3,120.00	20744	576.00	21037	1,320.00
20544	3,600.00	20611	504.00	20678	504.00	20745	960.00	21038	600.00
20545	1,320.00	20612	600.00	20679	5,760.00	20746	3,600.00	21039	780.00
20546	3,360.00	20613	2,640.00	20680	1,320.00	20747	408.00	21040	1,200.00
20547	3,120.00	20614	2,400.00	20681	2,040.00	20748	2,160.00	21041	1,320.00
20548	2,400.00	20615	660.00	20682	1,140.00	20749	960.00	21042	960.00
20549	132.00	20616	504.00	20683	1,440.00	20750	3,840.00	21043	156.00
20550	840.00	20617	1,440.00	20684	1,020.00	20751	720.00	21044	288.00
20551	1,020.00	20618	660.00	20685	1,200.00	20752	600.00	21045	576.00
20552	1,320.00	20619	528.00	20686	1,080.00	20753	1,080.00	21046	660.00
20553	3,840.00	20620	2,640.00	20687	1,080.00	20754	1,800.00	21047	600.00
20554	456.00	20621	1,200.00	20688	1,320.00	20755	840.00	21048	480.00
20555	2,640.00	20622	3,120.00	20689	4,080.00	20756	960.00	21049	552.00
20556	2,040.00	20623	2,040.00	20690	1,200.00	20757	600.00	21050	456.00
20557	1,140.00	20624	1,020.00	20691	2,640.00	20758	3,600.00	21051	432.00
20558	900.00	20625	1,560.00	20692	3,600.00	20759	3,840.00	21052	720.00
20559	1,800.00	20626	660.00	20693	2,160.00	20760	780.00	21053	780.00
20560	9,600.00	20627	528.00	20694	1,200.00	20761	1,320.00	21054	288.00
20561	6,600.00	20628	840.00	20695	1,200.00			21055	240.00
20562	5,040.00	20629	660.00	20696	2,040.00			21056	504.00
20563	7,200.00	20630	504.00	20697	312.00			21057	432.00
20564	1,680.00	20631	504.00	20698	456.00			21058	600.00
20565	5,280.00	20632	504.00	20699	336.00			21059	456.00
20566	1,020.00	20633	480.00	20700	360.00			21060	504.00
20567	1,320.00	20634	552.00	20701	600.00			21061	1,800.00
20568	900.00	20635	2,160.00	20702	1,200.00			21062	360.00
20569	600.00	20636	2,640.00	20703	504.00			21063	432.00
20570	900.00	20637	3,120.00	20704	1,560.00			21064	240.00
20571	840.00	20638	2,640.00	20705	660.00			21065	360.00
20572	4,800.00	20639	3,120.00	20706	3,360.00			21066	336.00
20573	960.00	20640	2,640.00	20707	780.00			21067	480.00
20574	960.00	20641	3,600.00	20708	1,080.00			21068	336.00
20575	1,440.00	20642	3,120.00	20709	780.00			21069	360.00
20576	720.00	20643	3,360.00	20710	660.00			21070	384.00
20577	1,560.00	20644	1,800.00	20711	3,840.00			21071	360.00
20578	2,400.00	20645	552.00	20712	600.00			21072	780.00
20579	1,020.00	20646	1,080.00	20713	720.00			21073	192.00
20580	1,140.00	20647	1,200.00	20714	1,560.00			21074	480.00
20581	1,080.00	20648	720.00	20715	2,400.00			21075	288.00
20582	1,080.00	20649	4,560.00	20716	1,020.00			21076	192.00
20583	660.00	20650	3,600.00	20717	1,200.00			21077	336.00
20584	480.00	20651	1,200.00	20718	660.00			21078	204.00

Session B
Washingtoniana from
the Collections of the
Historical Society of
Pennsylvania
Internet Only

Monday, November 18
 StacksBowers.com
 9:00 AM PT
 Lots 21001-21295

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.

The November 2019 Baltimore Auction

Lot No.	Price Realized								
21079	1,920.00	21123	660.00	21167	1,800.00	21211	180.00	21255	1,020.00
21080	900.00	21124	2,640.00	21168	432.00	21212	384.00	21256	288.00
21081	1,560.00	21125	600.00	21169	456.00	21213	1,800.00	21257	100.00
21082	1,080.00	21126	660.00	21170	384.00	21214	3,120.00	21258	1,320.00
21083	.600.00	21127	600.00	21171	1,800.00	21215	900.00	21259	552.00
21084	.600.00	21128	600.00	21172	288.00	21216	1,440.00	21260	384.00
21085	.576.00	21129	720.00	21173	432.00	21217	336.00	21261	552.00
21086	.528.00	21130	600.00	21174	216.00	21218	456.00	21262	576.00
21087	.660.00	21131	.660.00	21175	336.00	21219	456.00	21263	600.00
21088	.900.00	21132	.600.00	21176	360.00	21220	.360.00	21264	384.00
21089	1,440.00	21133	.600.00	21177	1,800.00	21221	1,320.00	21265	780.00
21090	.660.00	21134	.552.00	21178	5,040.00	21222	.840.00	21266	.504.00
21091	.780.00	21135	.528.00	21179	.216.00	21223	.660.00	21267	.384.00
21092	.312.00	21136	.960.00	21180	.336.00	21224	1,680.00	21268	1,140.00
21093	.240.00	21137	.240.00	21181	.264.00	21225	1,440.00	21269	1,200.00
21094	1,320.00	21138	.228.00	21182	.240.00	21226	.720.00	21270	.1,080.00
21095	.336.00	21139	.228.00	21183	.336.00	21227	3,840.00	21271	.660.00
21096	.720.00	21140	.480.00	21184	5,520.00	21228	.504.00	21272	.432.00
21097	.720.00	21141	.600.00	21185	.528.00	21229	4,800.00	21273	.552.00
21098	.192.00	21142	.480.00	21186	5,040.00	21230	.264.00	21274	.264.00
21099	.228.00	21143	.105.00	21187	5,040.00	21231	.264.00	21275	.264.00
21100	.264.00	21144	.204.00	21188	4,320.00	21232	.408.00	21276	.840.00
21101	.288.00	21145	.528.00	21189	.432.00	21233	1,080.00	21277	.552.00
21102	.600.00	21146	.780.00	21190	2,640.00	21234	1,080.00	21278	.960.00
21103	.264.00	21147	.552.00	21191	2,880.00	21235	.552.00	21279	.576.00
21104	.288.00	21148	.720.00	21192	.552.00	21236	1,320.00	21280	.528.00
21105	.720.00	21149	.456.00	21193	.456.00	21237	.900.00	21281	.360.00
21106	.840.00	21150	.312.00	21194	.900.00	21238	.840.00	21282	.960.00
21107	.960.00	21151	.336.00	21195	.528.00	21239	.660.00	21283	.360.00
21108	.408.00	21152	.600.00	21196	.360.00	21240	.432.00	21284	.360.00
21109	.660.00	21153	.336.00	21197	.216.00	21241	1,140.00	21285	.132.00
21110	.456.00	21154	.408.00	21198	.264.00	21242	.264.00	21286	.120.00
21111	.432.00	21155	.360.00	21199	.408.00	21243	.960.00	21287	.504.00
21112	1,080.00	21156	.384.00	21200	.384.00	21244	1,080.00	21288	.288.00
21113	.456.00	21157	.408.00	21201	.312.00	21245	.720.00	21289	.336.00
21114	.960.00	21158	.456.00	21202	.216.00	21246	.600.00	21290	.456.00
21115	1,200.00	21159	.504.00	21203	.408.00	21247	3,120.00	21291	2,400.00
21116	.840.00	21160	1,440.00	21204	.408.00	21248	1,800.00	21292	1,920.00
21117	.432.00	21161	.360.00	21205	.336.00	21249	.900.00	21293	.576.00
21118	.576.00	21162	.432.00	21206	.432.00	21250	1,320.00	21294	.720.00
21119	1,320.00	21163	.384.00	21207	.504.00	21251	.504.00	21295	.660.00
21120	.660.00	21164	.168.00	21208	.336.00	21252	.384.00		
21121	.504.00	21165	.288.00	21209	.264.00	21253	.288.00		
21122	.384.00	21166	1,320.00	21210	.240.00	21254	.192.00		

Final Bids Include Buyer's Premium.



Stack's Bowers Galleries

Upcoming Auction Schedule

Coins and Currency

Date	Auction	Consignment Deadline
November 12-16, 2019	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>U.S. Coins & Currency</i> Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	Visit StacksBowers.com
December 11, 2019	Collectors Choice Online Auction – <i>U.S. Coins & Currency</i> StacksBowers.com	November 22, 2019
January 17-18, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>Ancient and World Coins & Paper Money</i> An Official Auction of the N.Y.I.N.C. New York, NY	November 12, 2019
March 18-20, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>U.S. Coins & Currency</i> Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	January 20, 2020
March 23-25, 2020	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio – <i>Chinese & Asian Coins & Banknotes</i> Official Auction of the Hong Kong Coin Show Hong Kong	January 14, 2020
June 18-19, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>U.S. Coins & Currency</i> Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	April 21, 2020
August 4-7, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>Ancient and World Coins & Paper Money</i> An Official Auction of the ANA World's Fair of Money Pittsburgh, PA	May 29, 2020
August 4-7, 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>U.S. Coins & Paper Money</i> An Official Auction of the ANA World's Fair of Money Pittsburgh, PA	June 9, 2020
August 17-19, 2020	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio – <i>Chinese & Asian Coins & Banknotes</i> Official Auction of the Hong Kong Coin Show Hong Kong	June 9, 2020
November 2020	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>U.S. Coins & Currency</i> Official Auction of the Whitman Coin & Collectibles Baltimore Expo Baltimore, MD	Contact Us for Details
January 15-16, 2021	Stack's Bowers Galleries – <i>Ancient and World Coins & Paper Money</i> An Official Auction of the N.Y.I.N.C. New York, NY	November 13, 2020

Front Cover (left to right): Lot 2024: 1779 De Fleury at Stony Point medal. Betts-566. Silver. Original dies. Paris Mint. Choice About Uncirculated; Lot 2053: 1781 Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. Choice Extremely Fine; Lot 2089: 1781 Libertas Americana medal. Betts-615. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. Choice About Uncirculated. "Independence Hall in Philadelphia." Painting by Ferdinand Richardt.

Back Cover (top to bottom, left to right): Lot 2096: 1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal. Betts-547. Silver. Unidentified English medalist. Choice About Uncirculated; Lot 2030: 1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. Choice Mint State; Lot 2056: 1781 Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. Choice About Uncirculated; Lot 2028: 1779 John Stewart at Stony Point obverse cliché. As Betts-567. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux. Choice Mint State; Lot 2021: 1779 Anthony Wayne at Stony Point medal. Betts-565. Copper. Original dies. Paris Mint. About Uncirculated; Lot 2008: 1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557. Silver. Original striking. Paris Mint. About Uncirculated; Lot 2106: "1776" (1792) United States Diplomatic Medal. Loubat-19. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. Choice About Uncirculated;

COMITIA AMERICANA

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



Session 3 • 5:00 PM • Thursday, November 14, 2019

Room 308 • Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street • Baltimore, MD 21201

California Office
1231 E. Dyer Road, Ste 100
Santa Ana, CA 92705
Telephone: 800.458.4646
Telephone: 949.253.0916
Fax: 949.253.4091

New York Office
123 W. 57th St.
New York, NY 10019
Telephone: 800.566.2580
Telephone: 212.582.2580
Fax: 212.245.5018

New England Office
P.O. Box 1804
Wolfeboro, NH 03894
Telephone: 866.811.1804
Telephone: 603.569.0823
Fax: 603.569.3875

Hong Kong Office
Unit 1603, 16/F
Mira Place Tower A
No. 132 Nathan Road
Tsim Sha Tsui, Kowloon, HK
Telephone: +011.852.2117.1191

Paris Office
Telephone: +33.6.14.32.3177

South Carolina Office
Telephone: 864.520.2208

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*This sale is held in conjunction with Jay Edwards & Assoc., LLC.
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How to Bid

Before the Live Auction

There are several ways to bid prior to the start of the live auction.

Fax/Mail Bid Sheet

Use the enclosed bid sheet and mail or fax it to us. If sending by mail, please allow sufficient time for the postal service.

Mail: Att. Auction Department
Stack's Bowers Galleries
1231 East Dyer Rd., Ste 100
Santa Ana, CA 92705
United States

Phone

Telephone Stack's Bowers Galleries at 949.253.0916

Internet

View additional images and add items to your personal tracking list. You may also place bids and check their status in real time. Visit our website at www.stackbsowers.com.

During the Live Auction

Attend in Person

Auction Event: Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street
Baltimore, MD 21201

Live Online Bidding

Stack's Bowers Galleries will offer live online bidding for this auction. We strongly recommend that you register to bid at www.stackbsowers.com at least 48 hours before the start of the auction.

Live Bidding by Phone

If you wish to bid by phone during the live auction, please register your interest at least 48 hours prior to the start of the auction. Stack's Bowers Galleries will ask for the lot numbers you are interested in with your complete contact information. Stack's Bowers Galleries will call you during the auction and you can place bids with our representative in real time. We regret that we can only offer this service for lots estimated at \$2500 or more. If you wish to arrange live bidding by phone, contact Customer Service at 949.253.0916 or email info@stackbsowers.com.

Payment Information

Please send all check, money order or cashier's check payments to:

Stack's Bowers Galleries
1231 East Dyer Road, Suite 100
Santa Ana, CA 92705
United States

For bank wire instructions, see information at right or contact our Accounting Department at 800.458.4646 or 949.253.0916

Bank Wire Information:

For Domestic (U.S.) Banks, please direct your bank wire transfer to:

Bank Name: CIT Bank N.A.	Address: 75 N. Fair Oaks Ave.
ABA/Routing#: 322270288	Pasadena, CA 91103
Account Name: Stack's Bowers Numismatics LLC	Account Number: 1311011385

For Foreign Banks*, please direct your bank wire transfer to:

Bank Name: OneWest Bank, N.A.	Address: 75 N. Fair Oaks Ave.
International Swift Code: OWBKUS6L	Pasadena, CA 91103
Account Name: Stack's Bowers Numismatics LLC	Account Number: 1311011385

*Bank wires sent from a foreign bank are subject to an international bank wire fee of \$35. If an international order will be settled using a different form of payment, please contact us by phone or email to have the wire fee removed. If the wire will be sent in any currency other than USD, Stack's Bowers Galleries needs to be contacted prior to the transfer in order to arrange for an intermediary bank.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

November 14, 2019 • 5:00 PM ET

Lot Viewing

Lot Viewing will be conducted in the Santa Ana, CA offices (by appointment only): October 21-25, 2019

Lot Viewing will be conducted in the NY offices (by appointment only): November 4-8, 2019

Lot Viewing will be conducted at the Baltimore Convention Center Room 307 as follows:

Tuesday, November 12 9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	Wednesday, November 13 9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	Thursday, November 14 9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET	Friday, November 15 9:00 AM – 6:00 PM ET
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Auction Location

Baltimore Convention Center
One West Pratt Street
Baltimore, MD 21201

Auction Details

Session 1*	Session 2*	Session 3	Session 4*	Session 5*
Numismatic Americana Wednesday, November 13 Room 308 5:00 PM ET	U.S. Coins Part 1: Patterns of 1792 through Half Dollars Thursday, November 14 Room 309 12:00 Noon ET	The John W. Adams Collection of Comitia Americana and Related Medals Thursday, November 14 Room 308 5:00 PM ET Lots 2001-2110	Rarities Night Thursday, November 14 Room 308 <i>immediately following the conclusion of Session 3</i>	U.S. Currency Thursday, November 14 Room 309 6:00 PM ET
Session 6* Early American Coins Friday, November 15 Room 308 10:00 AM ET	Session 7* The Robert M. Martin Collection of U.S. Colonial Coins Friday, November 15 Room 308 <i>immediately following the conclusion of Session 6</i>	Session 8* The E Pluribus Unum Collection of New Jersey Coppers Friday, November 15 Room 308 6:00 PM ET	Session 9* The E. Horatio Morgan Collection of U.S. Half Dollars Friday, November 15 Room 309 11:00 AM ET	Session 10* U.S. Coins Part 2: Silver Dollars, Commemoratives, Gold and Miscellaneous Friday, November 15 Room 309 5:00 PM ET
Session A* Washingtoniana from the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Saturday, November 16 Room 308 10:00 AM ET	Session B* Washingtoniana from the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Internet Only Monday, November 18 StacksBowers.com 9:00 AM PT	Session 11* U.S. Coins Part 1 Internet Only Monday, November 18 StacksBowers.com <i>immediately following the conclusion of Session B</i>	Session 12* U.S. Coins Part 2 Internet Only Tuesday, November 19 StacksBowers.com 9:00 AM PT	Session 13* U.S. Currency Internet Only Tuesday, November 19 StacksBowers.com 9:00 AM PT
				Session 14* U.S. Coins Part 3 Internet Only Wednesday, November 20 StacksBowers.com 9:00 AM PT

Lot Pickup

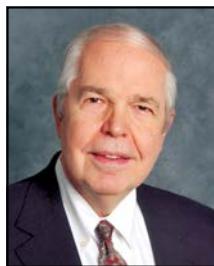
Lot Pickup will be conducted at the Baltimore Convention Center Room 307 as follows:

Thursday, November 14 9:00 AM – Noon ET	Friday, November 15 9:00 AM – Noon ET	Saturday, November 16 9:00 AM – Noon ET
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***Please refer to our other November 2019 Baltimore auction catalogs for further offerings of U.S. Coins and Currency.**
View our entire auction schedule online at StacksBowers.com.

Dates, times and locations are subject to change.

The Stack's Bowers Galleries Team



Q. David Bowers
Stack's Bowers Galleries
Founder
QBowers@StacksBowers.com



Harvey Stack
Stack's Bowers Galleries
Founder
HStack@StacksBowers.com



Lawrence R. Stack
Stack's Bowers Galleries
Founder
LStack@StacksBowers.com



Greg Roberts
CEO
GRoberts@StacksBowers.com



Brian Kendrella
President
BKendrella@StacksBowers.com



Christine Karstedt
Executive Vice President
CKarstedt@StacksBowers.com

California Office: 949.253.0916

Accounting

Accounting@StacksBowers.com

Jeff Ambio

Ext. 204 – JeffA@StacksBowers.com

Jeremy Carlson

Ext. 233 – JCarlson@StacksBowers.com

Chris Dahncke

Ext. 217 – CDahncke@StacksBowers.com

Wayne Berkley

Ext. 225 – WBerkley@StacksBowers.com

Ron Gillio

RGillio@StacksBowers.com

Richard Gonzales

Ext. 219 – RGonzales@StacksBowers.com

Britne Hanmer

Ext. 230 – BHanmer@StacksBowers.com

Kyle Hoyt

Ext. 353 – KHoyt@StacksBowers.com

Sarah Jackels

Ext. 296 – SJackels@StacksBowers.com

Brian Kendrella

Ext. 291 – BKendrella@StacksBowers.com

Aris Maragoudakis

Ext. 279 – Aris@StacksBowers.com

Travis McDonald

Ext. 274 – TMcDonald@StacksBowers.com

Benjamin Orooji

Ext. 295 – BOrooji@StacksBowers.com

Matt Orsini

Ext. 214 – MOrsini@StacksBowers.com

Chris Ortega

Ext. 248 – COrtega@StacksBowers.com

John Pack

Ext. 258 – JPack@StacksBowers.com

Cataloged by:

John Kraljevich

Photographed by:

Karen Bridges, Director of Photography

Kyle Ponterio

Ext. 212 – KyPonterio@StacksBowers.com

Richard Ponterio

Ext. 290 – RPonterio@StacksBowers.com

Steve Price

Ext. 260 – SPrice@StacksBowers.com

Scott Reiter

Ext. 228 – SReiter@StacksBowers.com

Mary Ross

Ext. 231 – MRoss@StacksBowers.com

Kent Tran

Ext. 221 – KTran@StacksBowers.com

Peter Treglia

Ext. 250 – PTreglia@StacksBowers.com

Erin Zirschky

Ext. 264 – EZirschky@StacksBowers.com

New York Office: 212.582.2580

Andrew Bowers

Ext. 5222 – ABowers@StacksBowers.com

James McCartney

Ext. 5455 – JMcCartney@StacksBowers.com

Mark Schimel

Ext. 5515 – MSchimel@StacksBowers.com

Harvey Stack

HStack@StacksBowers.com

Larry Stack

LStack@StacksBowers.com

Vicken Yegparian

Ext. 5459 – VYegparian@StacksBowers.com

Consultants

John Kraljevich, Mike Ontko, Eric Schena, Benjamin Simpson, Steve Tureen, Brad Yonaka

New Hampshire Office: 603.569.0823

Q. David Bowers

QBowers@StacksBowers.com

Christine Karstedt

Ext 361 – CKarstedt@StacksBowers.com

Melissa Karstedt

Ext 362 – MKarstedt@StacksBowers.com

Hong Kong Office: +011.852.2117.1191

Nirat Lertchitvikul

Nirat@StacksBowers.com

Ping Lertchitvikul

Ping@StacksBowers.com

Zhou Shou Yuan

ZShouyuan@StacksBowers.com

Singapore:

Frederick Yow

FredYow@StacksBowers.com

Paris: +33.6.14.32.3177

Maryna Synytsya

MSynytsya@StacksBowers.com

Other Offices

Bobby Avena

BAvena@StacksBowers.com

Brad Ciociola

BCiociola@StacksBowers.com

Samantha Douglas

Ext. 5519 – SDouglas@StacksBowers.com

Henrik Holt Christensen

HChristensen@StacksBowers.com

Manning Garrett

MGarrett@StacksBowers.com

Ben Mahaffey

BMahaffey@StacksBowers.com

COMITIA AMERICANA

The Stack's Bowers Galleries Team

California Office



Andrew Glassman
Chief Financial Officer
AGlassman@StacksBowers.com



John Pack
Executive Director
of Consignments
JPack@StacksBowers.com



Scott Reiter
Executive Director
of Consignments
SReiter@StacksBowers.com



Matt Orsini
Director of World &
Ancient Numismatics
MOrsini@StacksBowers.com



Richard Ponterio
Executive Vice President
RPonterio@StacksBowers.com



Peter A. Treglia
Director of Currency
PTreglia@StacksBowers.com



Wayne Berkley
Director of Client Services,
Auctioneer
WBerkley@StacksBowers.com



Aris Maragoudakis
Director of World
Currency Auctions
Aris@StacksBowers.com



Kyle Ponterio
Senior Numismatist,
Consignment Director
KyPonterio@StacksBowers.com



Ben Orooji
Senior Numismatist
BOrooji@StacksBowers.com



Chris Ortega
Numismatist,
Auctioneer
COrtega@StacksBowers.com



Steve Price
Director of Numismatic
Business Development
SPrice@StacksBowers.com

New York and New England Offices



Vicken Yegopian
Vice President
of Numismatics
VYegopian@StacksBowers.com



Mark Schimel
New York Store Manager
MSchimel@StacksBowers.com



James McCartney
Senior Numismatist,
Consignment Director
JMcCartney@StacksBowers.com



Andrew Bowers
East Coast Sales Manager
ABowers@StacksBowers.com



Bobby Avena
Head Numismatic Trader
BAvena@StacksBowers.com



Melissa Karstedt
Auctioneer,
Auction Director
MKarstedt@StacksBowers.com

Asian Offices



Nirat Lertchitvikul
Director of Asian Operations
Nirat@StacksBowers.com



Ping Lertchitvikul
Operations Manager
Ping@StacksBowers.com



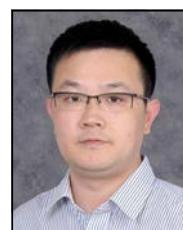
Crystal Ng
Senior Auction Executive
CNg@StacksBowers.com



Christine Pun
Auction Executive
CPun@StacksBowers.com

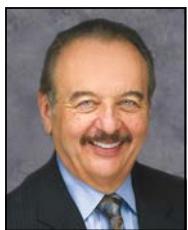


Frederick Yow
Consignment Director
Southeast Asia
FredYow@StacksBowers.com



Zhou Shou Yuan
Executive Consignment
Director, China
ZShouyuan@StacksBowers.com

Additional Expertise



Ron Gillio
Numismatic Acquisitions
Coordinator
RGillio@StacksBowers.com



Jeff Ambio
Vice President
of Numismatics
JAmbio@StacksBowers.com



Manning Garrett
Director of Currency
MGarrett@StacksBowers.com



Brad Ciociola
Currency Specialist
BCiociola@StacksBowers.com



Henrik Holt Christensen
Senior Consignment Director
of Europe
Holt@StacksBowers.com



Maryna Syntytsya
Manager of European
Operations
MSyntytsya@StacksBowers.com

JOHN W. ADAMS

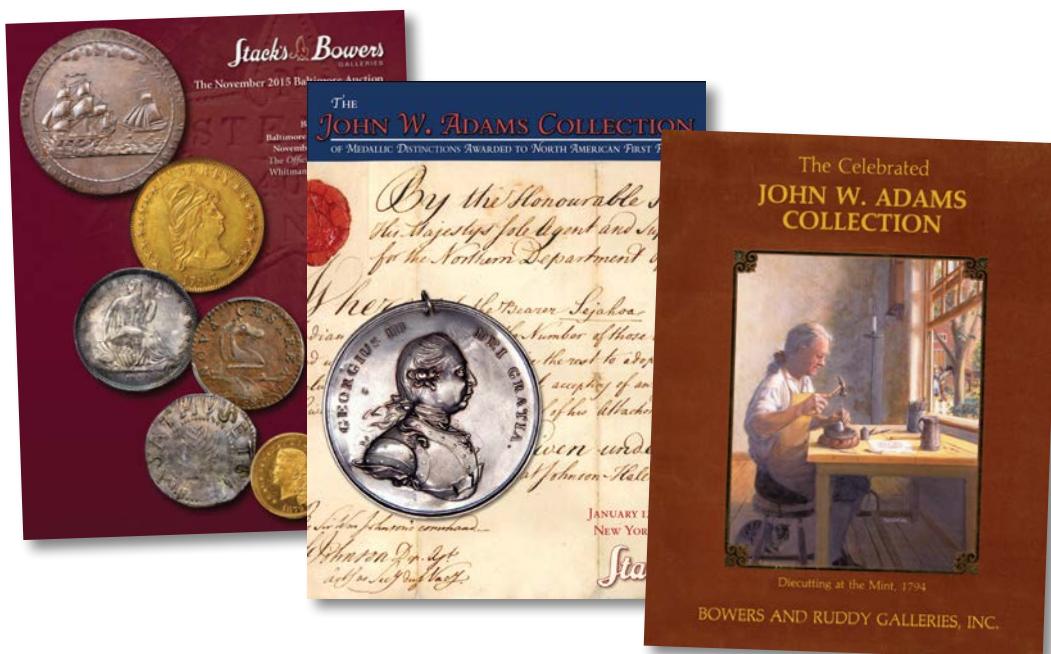


John W. Adams was born on April 2, 1936, the son of Weston Adams and Mildred Boyd Adams. His father was a stock broker and also president of the Boston Bruins hockey team. His mother was an ardent Republican and a spectacular mother. His older sister, Abigail, became a well-known cancer doctor at Bryn Mawr Hospital.

John attended the Haverford School, graduating in 1953. He furthered his education, graduating from Princeton University in 1957 and the Harvard Business School in 1960. His professional career was largely in investment banking, founding Adams, Harkness & Hill in 1966. He retired in 2006.

For nearly 40 years John was married to Mary Pierce Adams, with whom he had three fabulous children: Nicholas, John Jr. (deceased), and Alexandra. In 2000, two years after his first wife's death, he married Regina Fromhagen Adams, with whom he has enjoyed nearly 20 very happy years.

His collecting career began early and over the years he assembled several notable collections. In 1982, Bowers and Ruddy offered his incredible collection of 1794 large cent varieties in a special "fixed-price" catalog. John had a great interest in medals, including Indian Peace medals (offered in Stack's 2009 Americana sale) and Betts medals (featured by Stack's Bowers Galleries in November 2015). As a proud and staunch patriot, John considers the Comitia Americana medals presented in the current catalog to be his crowning numismatic achievement.



Some Words from John W. Adams

ON COMITIA AMERICANA MEDALS

Most coins and medals are owned by the collector. Comitia Americana medals invert this relationship: they own the collector.

An individual who picks up a Comitia Americana medal must be captivated by it, as he or she is automatically drawn into a compelling story. These were our nation's first Medals of Honor. All eleven recipients made pivotal contributions to the winning of our independence. All eleven made extreme sacrifices for a compelling cause.

Anyone holding one of these objects must be aware of the thousands of patriots who, in 1776, streamed to Boston to join the battle. They must be aware of the sheer bravado entailed in the attack on Stony Point. They must be uplifted by the words: "I have not yet begun to fight."

Today, what we hope to become as a nation may not be as clear as it was then. Nor are our hopes as widely shared. Simply stated, Comitia Americana medals explain to us what we may yet be and urge us forward.

A COLLECTOR'S PERSPECTIVE ON "RAW" MEDALS

One of the first things that readers of this catalog will notice is that the medals are being offered "in the raw" – i.e. not encapsulated in plastic. There are multiple reasons for this. First, edges, the so-called "third side" of a medal, can be the most important side. The edges of Comitia Americana medals tell the observer not only how the piece was made, but possibly also by whom it was made as well as when and where. Prospective buyers may need to educate themselves on how these clues can be deciphered, but the clues are there for those who wish to interpret them. Second, the Comitia Americana's are, above all, historical medals – they commemorate important people and events. By holding the raw medal in the palm of the hand, it is possible to envision the past and even connect with it. This cannot be done easily, if at all, when holding a piece of plastic. Finally, these medals are works of art and, as with any work of art, their many aesthetic dimensions can be fully appreciated only by direct observation.

Encapsulation in plastic is a perfectly satisfactory method of storage. However, over the many years we have owned them, we have wrapped these medals in tarnish-proof tissue paper, then placed them in an inert manila envelope. This has provided safe storage and the manila envelope has served to carry all manner of relevant information. In addition to protecting against the elements, the tissue paper serves as a buffer if the medal happens to slip out of its container.

How does one learn about Comitia Americana medals? A good place to begin is the book, *Comitia Americana and Related Medals*, by this writer and Anne Bentley. There are numerous other written sources, plus there are the human oracles – people like John Kraljevitch, Neil Musante, Tony Terranova, John Sallay and, of course, Anne Bentley. All are eminently approachable and teeming with answers.

INTRODUCTION

by John Kraljevich



The history of the Comitia Americana medal series is not one history, but three. Those three histories, taken together, tell two formative stories: the birth of our nation and the birth of our nation's love affair with numismatics.

The first story is military, a narrative of triumphs big (Saratoga) and small (Eutaw Springs). It is a campfire tale of an

overmatched army picking spots to inflict world-changing damage upon a superpower, on fields from upstate New York to the South Carolina lowcountry. Every military story has two sides, that of the soldiers who sacrificed for their achievements and that of the politicians who attempted to capitalize upon them. The Comitia Americana medals feature both, with you-are-there depictions of military victories authorized by the Continental Congress in the majestic afterglow of conquest, conceived to both recognize battlefield heroics and to fight a propaganda war highlighting American successes that proved all too rare over the duration of the war. The stories of these medals begin at the moment a sword leaves a British hand to be delivered in defeat into an American one. They describe, idealize, and announce battlefield wins. They anoint heroes, hand-picked by the desk jockeys in the Continental Congress. They not only recognize a historic moment, but choose what history is told.

The second story is diplomatic and follows the Revolutionary War. Its characters are not the Continental Congress, pounding on desks in Philadelphia or Baltimore, but Americans abroad: Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and the less heralded David Humphreys. The co-stars are French engravers like Dupré, Duvivier, and Gatteaux. This is the story of a new and nearly bankrupt nation asserting itself on the world stage, seeking to present a national identity in the royal courts of Europe, and attempting to create objects of enduring artistic value. This is the story of the Comitia Americana medals' execution, which followed their conception by more than a decade in some cases.

The last of these stories bridges the gap from the useful lives of these objects — as performative largesse to Americans and Europeans alike — to collectibles. This story is as complex as the movement of militia troops through the backcountry, fraught with restrikes from original dies made in Paris, productions from the Philadelphia Mint from dies old and new, and scholarship whose veracity has rarely matched its enthusiasm. This story extends from James Mease's first description of these medals in 1821 to the modern day state of the art, encapsulated in the work *Comitia Americana* by Anne Bentley and John W. Adams.

This catalog will not be the final say, but it is the final word on this collection. John W. Adams began assembling the medals of the Comitia Americana some four decades ago. His cabinet has been a numismatic estuary, both taking in nutrients to nourish future generations and letting go enough to let the current generation thrive. This assemblage not only inspired his masterwork, but also an endless array of talks, essays, articles, and published musings on the topic. Long-underappreciated, these medals found a welcome home with John, like so many abandoned puppies who were too cute to leave behind. As such, a novice might see it as rife with duplication, a testament that these astounding rarities are somehow more numerous than collectors think. The opposite is true. Each of these is unique in some way: die state, composition, metrology, or provenance. With John's capacious resources of both time and money, these were all the medals he was able to acquire. This is both a completist's passion and a scholar's study collection. Were any of these medals not present, his research would have been less fruitful. They represent more than 40 years of dutiful acquisitions, and in more than one case represent the entire collectible population of a particular type.

The medals are now free to find new homes, with collectors who seek to capture a piece of history, or those whose scholarly curiosity has carved a niche in their cabinet that only an Adams medal can fill. Some of these medals are cognates of those in other collections, near duplicates of similar pieces that have sold in recent years. They will be easy to evaluate and compare to known populations. Others

are nearly or entirely unique. They may have been acquired privately or in a great auction of the past. They will herein be described with suitable fanfare, but the ultimate evaluation will be left to the bidder: How do you price something whose place in American history is literally induplicable? How do you weigh the opportunity versus the cost, when the choice is acquiring the Adams specimen or a collection forever going without?

This offering is historic, in every meaning of that sometimes tortured word. This catalog, we hope, is equal to the occasion. It would not exist without John Adams' scholarship, foresight, or decades of mentorship to its author and countless others. We're grateful for his friendship and for this opportunity.

I had been in the employ of our predecessor firm, Bowers and Merena, for all of a few weeks in 2000 when Q. David

Bowers came to my desk, asked me if I knew anything about Betts medals, and invited me into our Wolfeboro conference room to meet a kind gentleman named Lucien LaRiviere. While early American medals had been a long-term interest even before that, fostered by the friendship of Mr. Adams, Richard Margolis, Tony Terranova, and others – pulling open the drawers of LaRiviere's fully-laden medal cabinet revealed a brand new world to me. Michael Hodder once told me that John Ford called to correct the mistakes in my medal descriptions because he thought I was worth correcting. I've learned a lot in the last 20 years, but still have much to learn. The errors and opinions in the catalog that follows are based upon my experiences and are, thus, entirely my own.

John Kraljevich
Fort Mill, South Carolina
Summer 2019

Order of Sale

Session 3 - Comitia Americana and Related Medals: The John W. Adams Collection

Thursday, November 14, 2019 – 5:00 PM ET

Room 308

Lots 2001-2110

Category	Lot Number
Comitia Americana Medals.....	2001-2086
Washington Before Boston.....	2001-2007
Horatio Gates at Saratoga.....	2008-2020
Anthony Wayne at Stony Point	2021-2023
De Fleury at Stony Point	2024-2027
John Stewart at Stony Point.....	2028
John Paul Jones	2029-2045
Henry Lee at Paulus Hook	2046-2052
Daniel Morgan at Cowpens.....	2053-2062
William Washington at Cowpens	2063-2071
John Eager Howard at Cowpens	2072-2080
Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs	2081-2086
Medals Related to the Comitia Americana Series	2087-2110
Comte D'Estaing	2087-2088
Libertas Americana	2089-2095
B. Franklin of Philadelphia	2096-2098
Benjamin Franklin Natus Boston	2099-2105
The Diplomatic Medal.....	2106-2110

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



SESSION 3

Thursday, November 14, 2019

Lots 2001 - 2110

THE TAKING OF DORCHESTER HEIGHTS

The Action:

The story of the American Revolution begins in Boston. Once the first garrisons of British regulars were established in Boston in 1768 — a response to Boston patriots' notorious opposition to the Sugar Act and Stamp Act — progress toward outright rebellion was quick. The Boston Massacre of March 1770 and the Boston Tea Party of December 1773 were preludes to armed conflict, which began in April 1775 with the battles of Lexington and Concord.



General Thomas Gage.
(By John Singleton Copley)

turned from a political conflict into a war. On June 12, just days before the bloody Battle of Bunker Hill, Gage declared martial law. Boston had become an occupied city.

When George Washington left Mount Vernon on May 4, 1775, bound for Philadelphia as a member of the second Continental Congress, he undoubtedly presumed the next leg of his Virginia to Pennsylvania trip would return him to his Potomac River plantation. Instead, when the political temperature rose in Boston and the Continental Congress took charge of the troops that had gathered in Boston, the men gathered at Philadelphia's State House quickly turned to Washington as a potential commander. Passing over John Hancock, Richard Henry Lee, and others, Washington was named General and Commander in Chief of the Continental forces by Congress on June 15. His next stop would not be home. It would be Boston.

He left Philadelphia a little known Virginian on June 23 and arrived in Boston on July 2 as a celebrity. He took command across the river from Boston in Cambridge, Massachusetts and got to work building an army that would expel

General Thomas Gage, the Commander in Chief of British forces in North America, arrived in Boston in May 1775, not quite a year before shots were fired on Lexington Green. He was appointed Royal Governor of the colony, giving the people of Massachusetts a military government. In February 1775, King George III officially declared the colony in open rebellion, giving Gage permission to crack down on the upheaval. On April 19, when Gage moved on Lexington and Concord, the American Revolution



Map of Colonial Boston showing Dorchester Heights at lower center.

the British and win the war. That force would require men, materiel, and weapons: guns, to be sure, but also heavy artillery.

Fort Ticonderoga, on the west bank of Lake Champlain, was taken by American forces under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold in May 1775. Once Washington began assembling his plans to push the British out of Boston, it became evident that the 59 British cannons captured at Ticonderoga represented the nearest American-held artillery — and those cannons were 300 miles away.

Fortunately, Washington's army included an amateur engineer (and professional bookseller) from Boston named Henry Knox, who had familiarized himself with fortifications and cannon during the early days of the campaign. Knox, just 25 years old, impressed Washington enough that the General gave Knox command of an expedition to deliver the guns of Ticonderoga to Boston. Knox left on November 17, 1775, and arrived at Fort Ticonderoga on December 5. The winter weather was brutal on Washington's troops, but welcome beneath the oxen hooves and the sleighs that Knox used to carry 60 tons of iron eastward. Knox took the guns south to Albany, then east to Boston, arriving in Cambridge on January 27, 1776.



General George Washington at Dorchester Heights (By Gilbert Stuart)

The cannon were not originally intended for Dorchester Heights, a high ground that looked down on Boston from the south, but that's where they ended up — and they ended up there all in one night. Under cover of darkness, with the view somewhat blocked by hay bales and other temporary fortifications, Washington's men humped the big guns to the top of the Heights. On the morning of March 5, the British forces awoke to an unimaginable sight: the high ground fortified, the guns of Ticonderoga looming, and their own position under grave threat.



Henry Knox bringing artillery to end the Siege of Boston.

Washington had overseen the seemingly impossible, and made the dug-in occupation of the British in Boston indefensible. The British commander on the scene, General William Howe, is supposed to have said "My God, these fellows have done more work in one night than I could make my army do in three months."

When the British artillery erupted on the night of March 9, it was clear to all present that the noisy cannonade was a cover for evacuation. It took ten days for the entire occupation force to leave. After they left, it took Congress less than a week to vote to award their very first ever medal to the man who oversaw the bloodless triumph that saved Boston.

By rights, this medal could just as easily depict the stout Henry Knox, whose image is measurably less easy on the eyes than Antoine Houdon's elegant bust of the godlike Washington. While Washington conceived the plan for the siege of Boston, only Knox's dashing-through-the-snow derring-do enabled the Commander-in-Chief to push Howe's army out to sea.

The Resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the thirteen United Colonies, whom they represent, be presented to his excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the medal.

— Continental Congress Resolution of March 25, 1776

The Acquisition:

After Congress voted their hero a gold medal, the author of the proposal, Boston's John Adams, led the committee to prepare it. He also had the honor of telling General Washington of his new recognition, in a letter dated April 1.

I congratulate you, Sir, as well as all the Friends of Mankind, in the reduction of Boston, an event, which appeared to me of so great and decisive importance that next morning after the arrival of the news I did myself the honor to move for the thanks of Congress to your Excellency and that a medal of gold should be struck in commemoration of it. Congress have been pleased to appoint me, with two other gentlemen, to prepare a device. I should be very happy to have your Excellency's sentiments concerning a proper one. I have the honor to be, with very great respect,

sir, your most obedient and affectionate servant, John Adams.

The President of the Continental Congress, John Hancock, chimed in on April 2 in another missive to the General: "The Congress have ordered a Golden Medal, adapted to the Occasion, to be struck, and when finished, to be presented to you."

Hancock's "when finished" ultimately took over a decade, but Adams wasted no time in reaching out to Philadelphia's best-respected numismatist, Pierre Eugène du Simitière, for help with the design. He had already heard back from the artistic Swiss antiquarian when he wrote home to his wife, Abigail, from Philadelphia on August 14, 1776:

I am put upon a Committee to prepare a Device for a Golden Medal to commemorate the Surrender of Boston to the American Arms, and upon another to prepare Devices for a Great Seal for the confederated States. There is a Gentleman here of French Extraction, whose Name is Du simitiere, a Painter by Profession whose Designs are very ingenious, and his Drawings well executed. He has been applied to for his Advice. I waited on him yesterday, and saw his Sketches. For the Medal he proposes Liberty with her Spear and Pileus, leaning on General Washington. The British Fleet in Boston Harbour, with all their Sterns towards the Town, the American Troops, marching in.

Du Simitière produced a nice design and was paid for it by the Continental Congress. It was never produced. As Congress moved on to prosecuting a full-fledged war against the most powerful nation on the planet, Washington's medal was back-burnered by every committee assigned to it. Eventually, Benjamin Franklin, serving as the minister plenipotentiary to France, was asked to help in September 1779. Franklin dropped the ball, succeeding

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

in obtaining only De Fleury's medal for Stony Point and his pet medalllic project, the *Libertas Americana* medal. Time passed, and David Humphreys was asked to pick the medal project back up in the summer of 1784. He arrived in Paris soon thereafter, set to work, and by the spring of 1785 had successfully nailed down designs and inscriptions from the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris. Washington's medal, along with those for Horatio Gates and Nathanael Greene, was finally coming along.

Humphreys wrote to Washington with an update on May 10, 1785, describing the designs and inscriptions the medal would feature. "I think it has the character of simplicity & dignity which is to be aimed at in a memorial of this kind, which is designed to transmit the remembrance of a great event to posterity," Humphreys wrote, adding "you really do not know how much your name is venerated on this side the Atlantic." The next letter Humphreys sent to Washington from Paris, dated July 17, 1785, noted that "M. Houdon" was set "to depart for Mt Vernon" from Paris, with the help of Thomas Jefferson. Jean-Antoine Houdon and three assistant sculptors arrived at Mount Vernon on October 2, 1785 to produce a statue of Washington that had been commissioned by the state of Virginia. Houdon took a life mask during his two week stay, then returned to Paris to complete the project. Humphreys updated Jefferson on Washington's medal on January 30, 1786, noting "there is no obstacle to commencing the medal for Gen. Washington, since Houdon's return, etc."

While Humphreys apparently inquired with Augustin Dupré about accomplishing the Washington medal, the duty of executing the Houdon bust and other design elements fell to Benjamin Duvivier, who finally finished the dies in the spring of 1789. He was paid 3,600 livre tournois, more than twice the sum he received for the Cowpens medals for Howard and William Washington, and more than the 2,400 livre tournois Dupré was paid for each of the medals to be given to Daniel Morgan and John Paul Jones. The completed gold Washington medal was displayed at the Salon of 1789 that summer in Paris, then hand carried to the United States by Thomas Jefferson in October 1789.

The Presentation:

Unlike other Comitia Americana medals, the exact circumstances of Washington's presentation of the medal are unknown. John Adams and Anne Bentley presume Jefferson delivered it to Washington when they met in New York on March 21, 1790. The medal disappears from the historical record until June 12, 1798, when a Polish soldier named Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz visited Mount Vernon and recorded his experience of being shown the gold medal by Martha Washington. In his diary, he noted: "Mrs. Washington showed me a small collection of medals struck during the Revolution. There is one of at least 100 ducats in gold, with the head closely resembling that of G. Washington, which was struck on the occasion of the evacuation of Boston." Niemcewicz also journaled about Washington's other medals, including his silver set of Comitia Americana medals and the diamond Eagle of the Society of the Cincinnati. The only other time Washington's gold medal was documented at Mount Vernon was in 1800, on Washington's estate inventory, where it was listed as "1 large gold medal of George Washington" and valued at \$150.

The Washington Before Boston Medal:

Obverse: A profile of Washington, after Houdon's masterful bust, with hair tied with a ribbon and the bust neatly truncated. Duvivier's signature DuVIVIER / PARIS F. appears on two lines beneath the bust truncation, while COMITIA AMERICANA appears on a straight line in the unbordered exergue. The peripheral inscription GEORGIO WASHINGTON SVPREMO DVCI EXERCITVVM ADSSERTORI LIBERTATIS translates to "George Washington, supreme commander of the armies, defender of liberty."

Reverse: Washington, on horseback at left, stands with four mounted officers overlooking Boston and its harbor from Dorchester Heights. Ships at full sail depart at right on the horizon, while troops, cannons on their carriages, stacked cannonballs, and two unmounted cannon are at Washington's right. Washington gestures to the scene below. The legend HOSTIBUS PRIMO FUGATIS means "the first flight of the enemy," while the exergual legend BOSTONIUM RECUPERATUM XVII MARTII MDCCCLXXVI means "Boston recovered, March 17, 1776."

Majestic Silver Original Washington Before Boston Medal

One of Five in Private Hands

A Classic Rarity



(Photo Enlarged)

2001

1776 Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Musante GW-09-P1, Baker-47, Mooney M5. Silver. Original striking. Paris Mint. 69.0 mm, 2301.1 grains. 4.3 - 4.6 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain square edge. A magnificent specimen of this most august of all American medals, the first medal ever authorized by the Continental Congress and the #2 ranked medal among the 100 Greatest American Medals and Tokens, trailing only the Libertas Americana medal. While any specimen of the Washington Before

Boston is impressive, showcasing the superb relief of Duvivier's version of the famed bust by Jean-Antoine Houdon, numismatists cherish original strikings above all others. Among originals, the dramatic importance of Washington's unobtainable gold specimen is followed closely by the nearly unobtainable silver strikings like this one.

Just five are thought to be in private hands. Only four have been publicly identified in the modern era. Just three have been sold at

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

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auction in recorded numismatic history. One of those (the LaRiviere specimen) last sold in 1999. The other two last sold in 2014 (the Dreyfuss-Wharton specimen) and May 2019 (the newly discovered Carb specimen). This example, acquired by our consignor in 1983 from “out of the woodwork,” has never before been offered at public auction.

Its fields are deeply reflective, lightly toned in navy blue and deep gray, over chiefly brilliant light silver gray surfaces. The scattered marks and lines do little to diminish the exquisite eye appeal, and the abundant reflectivity on both sides is in spite of an ancient and thin layer of lacquer detected with scrutiny. The rims show some very tiny ticks here and there, along with a larger bruise behind the horses’ hindquarters on the reverse. The pair of marks in the right obverse field below ER of ADSERTORI are a bit more noticeable than others.

The die state is early, though a bit later than that seen on Washington’s own silver specimen at the Massachusetts Historical Society. The spalling pit below M of SUPREMO is more advanced here, as are the chips at ER of ADSERTORI. The die state is identical to that seen on both the Wharton specimen and the Carb specimen. LaRiviere’s was this state or later; the Ford piece, now in the Lasser Collection at Colonial Williamsburg, was a trifle earlier. The state of the piece in Vienna at the Kunsthistoriches Museum is similar to the Ford piece. Others have not been seen. The complete census of those documented, as published in our May 2019 sale, is as follows:

- 1. George Washington’s Personal Example.** Presented to him in a cased set of Comitia Americana medals. Now in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.
- 2. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.**
- 3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.**
- 4. Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna.**
- 5. State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.**
- 6. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.** Sold to John J. Ford, Jr. by Jean Vinchon of Paris, May 1967. Acquired by Joseph Lasser in our (Stack’s) Ford Sale, and gifted to Colonial Williamsburg.

7. The Charles Wharton Collection Specimen. Sold by Fred Baldwin of London in the late 1950s to Dr. Paul Patterson. Later in the collections of Alan V. Weinberg, David Dreyfuss, and Ambassador J. William Middendorf.

8. The Lucien LaRiviere Specimen. Said to have been revealed in a medal collection in Lima, Peru, in 1961. Acquired by Dr. George Fuld and later owned by Richard Picker, and John J. Ford, Jr.

9. The Alfred B. Carb Specimen, sold in our May 2019 sale. No prior provenance history known.

10. “Private Collection.” One of four so described by Adams and Bentley. Unseen by us.

11. The present specimen. According to our consignor, this medal sold from “a junk dealer to a bullion dealer, discovered among a small set of other Comitia Americana medals: William Washington, John Eager Howard, John Paul Jones, and the related Benjamin Franklin portrait medal (Betts-620).”

The first offering of a silver Washington Before Boston original by our firm was in December 1938, when Stack’s offered an “extremely rare original” in silver as lot 67. Since that time, we have sold every documentable specimen in private hands. In the entire 20th century, we record just five American auction offerings: the November 1914 Foster Larder sale by Wayte Raymond (lot 154), the aforementioned 1938 Stack’s sale, the April 1986 Dreyfuss sale (the Wharton specimen), the 1990 December Middendorf sale (also the Wharton specimen), and the November 1999 LaRiviere sale (acquired at a London auction in October 1968). There have been three offerings in this century: the 2004 Ford II sale (now impounded at Colonial Williamsburg), our March 2014 sale (the Wharton specimen), and our May 2019 sale (the Carb specimen). None were in the W.W.C. Wilson sale or the Garrett sale, nor were any in Norweb, Steinberg, Parsons, or an infinite number of other offerings of important Washingtoniana or early American medals. This is a great rarity, an historic classic, and a unique offering. The present medal is among the most significant highlights of the Adams Collection.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Rossa and Tanenbaum, October 1983, via John J. Ford, Jr.

Superb Copper Original Washington Before Boston Medal



2002

1776 Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Musante GW-09-P1, Baker-47, Mooney M6. Copper. Original striking. Paris Mint. 69.0 mm, 2320.4 grains. 4.7 - 5.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. A glorious near-gem specimen of this famous medal. Deep chocolate brown with navy blue highlights over beautifully reflective fields. The surfaces are close to immaculate, with just a few little impacts in the lower right obverse field off the lowest portions of the portrait bust and a nick on the raised obverse rim left of C in COMITIA. A single mark close to the horizon at the base of the open reverse field is the only noteworthy flaw on that side. The strike is exquisite, and the devices stand out from the mirrored fields in near cameo relief. The usual swelling of the reverse field is easily seen. The die state is a bit earlier than the silver specimen in the present collection, with the spalling pit below M of SUPREMO shaped like an eyebrow or a sideways comma, and

the chips at the base of ER of ADSERTORI somewhat less formed. A ridge or break in the collar, though not a witness line, is noted near 3:00 relative to the obverse.

Original strikes this early are rare; choice ones are doubly so. Adams and Bentley found 52 original bronze strikings of this medal, incorporating those from this reverse, the error reverse, and the corrected version of the error reverse. Speculatively, there may be 50 specimens known from this particular die pair, a population weighted toward pieces whose non-numismatic distribution required them to submit to an unduly high level of handling, wear, and damage. Unlike later pieces struck for a primarily numismatic crowd after 1850, truly gem originals are quite the exception.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Jim King, November 1985.



Rare Error Reverse Washington Before Boston Medal

Early, Original Striking



2003

1776 Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Musante GW-09-P2, Baker-47var, Mooney M2var. Copper. Original striking, Error Date reverse. Paris Mint. 68.4 mm, 2665.6 grains. 5.6 - 6.2 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain square edge. One of the most interesting entries in the Washington Before Boston series, this reverse die features a date well before any Washingtons were mounting up, let alone heading to Boston: MCCLXXVI or 1276, an error caused by omitting the D (500) that should follow the M. From the die states of those known, this reverse die was clearly first put into use after the "first reverse," i.e. the reverse used on Washington's gold specimen and the silver and copper originals that precede this lot. It is an open question as to which reverse was actually made first: was the error die made first, then shelved when its mistake was detected, only to be pressed into service for a short time when the reverse with the correct date failed? Or was it made hastily and mistakenly after the initial die failed? We may never know.

This ranks as perhaps the most noteworthy rarity among the varieties of Washington Before Boston medals, gold and silver originals notwithstanding. We record just six, of which five are in fairly high grade and another is damaged.

In no particular order:

- The LaRiviere specimen**, offered in the Bowers and Merena sale of November 1999, lot 3029. Earlier, from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of June 1980, lot 289. Plated in Musante, page 47, "DM" collection.
- The Ford specimen**, offered in the Stack's sale of May 2004 (Ford II), lot 53. Acquired in Paris from Etienne Page, June 1969.
- The Robert Marcus specimen**, offered in Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of the Robert Marcus Collection, December 2001, lot 197, re-offered in Presidential's Littman, Sullivan, and Dreyfuss sale of December 2004, lot 225; MM Collection, plated in Musante, page 47.
- The Dreyfuss-Adams specimen**. The presently offered example, previously from Bowers and Merena / Presidential's sale of the David W. Dreyfuss Collection, April 1986, lot 5228.

5. **An example in the permanent collection of Mount Vernon**, acquired in 1981.

6. **A damaged example** with a choice reverse and a tooled/chased obverse.

Orphan appearances we note include one in a group lot at the Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge sale of June 1884, lot 95 and another in Otto Hebling (Munich)'s sale of May 1907, lot 3821 (whose description repeats the MCCLXXVI date twice, assuring us it's not a simple typo). Another was offered in Bangs' sale of September 1873 as lot 1116, but marginalia in the ANS copy of the catalog notes "Out, Electrotypes." This may be one of the two electrotypes now in the ANS (one, gilt, is ex J. Coolidge Hills; another is ex Norweb). Astoundingly, none appear to have been sold in American auctions until this exact specimen appeared in the Dreyfuss sale in 1986. Though Baker and Fulb both knew the variety from electrotypes, the first struck piece was not published until Joe Levine's "Washington Before Boston Revisited" in the August 1983 issue of *TAMS Journal*. The Adams example appears to be the piece illustrated in the 1983 article, making it something of a discovery piece.

The surfaces are smooth and lustrous, even lightly reflective, with light brown toning and golden highlights. A little group of shallow marks are seen between ING of WASHINGTON and the back of the head, and a scattering of various marks is present across the open expanse atop the reverse. A little nick on the raised rim above the space between PRIMO and FUGATIS harms nothing. The eye appeal is excellent, and the details are all bold. The die state is clearly a bit later than the originals struck from the non-error reverse, with the pit in the right obverse field adjacent to Washington's chin now in full bloom, advanced spalling at REMO of SUPREMO and ER of ADSSERTORI, and more mature breaks at the base of Washington's queue.

With so few known, and so few opportunities to acquire a specimen, the 33 years this medal spent off the market may seem brief in the long run.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Merena / Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of the David W. Dreyfuss Collection, April 1986, lot 5228.

Washington Before Boston Medal, First Restrike

Rare Corrected Reverse



2004

1776 Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Musante GW-09-P2A, Baker-48, Mooney M8. Copper. Corrected reverse. Paris Mint. 68.4 mm, 2092.0 grains. 4.4 - 5.2 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain square edge. A beautiful example of this elusive variety, combining the original obverse with the "error reverse" after it had been reworked and corrected to reflect the proper date: MDCCLXXVI. The surfaces are lustrous and light reflective, all toned in an appealing light brown shade. The highest relief of the Washington bust shows a few flat spots, and a horizontal nick is noted below ER of ADSECTORI. The rims are intact and the visual appeal is absolutely superb. This variety is most easily identified by the swelling and broad, nearly horizontal crack that gently arcs across the reverse field. While correcting the date, the reverse was boldly reworked: the exergue was lapped and relettered, heavy horizontal lapping lines were left across the broad field (most notable at the extreme left and right close to the horizon), and a raised lump was left at the base of the second X in the date. The obverse has advanced beyond what is encountered with the first reverse and the error state of this reverse. It is likely that this die lived its short life sometime in the first quarter of the 19th century, though it could have been used in the early second quarter as well. From the state of the die — on this example and every other one seen — it did not last long or produce many medals.

A single silver specimen of this variety has been traced, impounded in the Metropolitan Museum of Art since its donation by William Huntington in 1883. Musante estimated seven examples in bronze. We can account for the following:

1. **Carnegie Museum.** Listed by Mooney, described as "badly battered."

2. Musante plate, in the "DM" Collection.
3. The LaRiviere specimen, offered in the Bowers and Merena sale of November 1999, lot 3030, earlier from George Fuld.
4. The Magriel-Collins-Wharton specimen, most recently offered in our March 2014 sale as lot 2069.
5. The Dan Hansen specimen, first offered in Presidential's sale of November 2002, lot 123, re-offered in Presidential's December 2004, lot 226. MM Collection.
6. The Wharton-MM specimen, from our March 2014 sale as lot 2070.
7. A specimen sold in Dix, Noonan, and Webb's sale of March 2011, lot 1673. Somewhat corroded.
8. The Wayte Raymond specimen, plated in Wayte Raymond's *Early Medals of Washington, Coin Collector's Journal*, March-April 1944 and George Fuld's "The Washington Before Boston Medal" in *TAMS Journal*, Sept-Dec 1963. Untraced.
9. The present specimen, from the Boyd Collection, acquired from the famous 1991 Jack Collins Washingtoniana fixed price list, lot 53.

The National Numismatic Collection includes three electrotype (or cast) replicas of the First Restrike, but no genuine examples. The collections of Mount Vernon and the American Numismatic Society both lack specimens. None were in the Ford, Norweb, or Dreyfuss sales. This example, acquired in 1991 after years in the Boyd Collection, has no prior auction appearances.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Jack Collins' June 1991 Washingtoniana fixed price list, lot 53.

A NOTE ON TRIALS: CLICHÉS, ÉPREUVES, AND SPLASHERS

The Adams Collection of Comitia Americana and related medals is uniquely enriched by several specimens of a unique form of medallic production that is known by several different names. Typically struck from a die in its earliest state, usually before hardening, these trials were called *épreuves* — proofs — in the original French correspondence between Dupré and Duvivier and the Founding Fathers charged with the acquisition of the medals the Continental Congress authorized. In more modern numismatic literature, they are more often called clichés or splashers, the latter term being a fair description of just how these trials were made.

Unhardened dies are incredibly susceptible to damage, as 18th century die steel (and modern steel today) is brittle before it is hardened by quenching. Once a die is hardened, modification becomes very difficult, so if changes need to be made, they need to be done in that fragile, unhardened state. Engravers in major mints — Paris especially — were accustomed to making soft metal impressions as something of a proofreading copy, enabling the negative die to be viewed in the positive in rough draft form. Wax impressions were liable to leave bits of wax in the interstices of design elements, thus engravers settled upon tin (usually called “white metal” in modern numismatic circles) as the best medium.

Tin melts at 450 degrees Fahrenheit, a low enough melting point to be accomplished in any small workshop. A ladle full of molten tin poured onto a surface will cool and harden fairly quickly, but remain soft long enough that a die can be easily pushed into it by hand, leaving a relatively durable impression in medal. Most often, medalists would find a piece of scrap paper — a note, a newspaper, a book page — to pour the tin atop, thus preventing their workspace from getting scorched and making the tin sheet somewhat easier to lift and trim.

These splashers were not intended to be medals, or even permanent, but simply a temporary way to display the state of the die in the positive before its devices were rendered immovable. Each was personally crafted by the engraver in his shop. In the case of the Comitia Americana medals, the épreuves made by Duvivier, Dupré, and Gatteaux were ultimately intended to be viewed and handled by themselves and those close to the process. Benjamin Franklin reviewed the épreuves of the De Fleury medal between April 20 and May 4, 1780, then made recommendations regarding the lettering in the obverse exergue that were adopted by Duvivier. He later did the same with his *Libertas Americana* medal, correcting a spelling error on the reverse. Engraver Augustin Dupré retained many of his splasher in his personal collection, some of which found their way into institutions in France and the United States, some of which are in the present sale.

Thomas Jefferson used clichés as a spendthrift (and lightweight) way to collect all the medals of the Comitia Americana series, assembling a set for himself and another for his Virginia countryman James Madison. As he was preparing to depart Paris in September 1789, he wrote to Madison to let him know of the boxes he was shipping,

including a box of books and several crates full of Houdon's John Paul Jones busts that the sitter wanted to have distributed in America.

I have put a collection of the proofs in tin of the medals voted by the U. S. (except two, of which the dies are in America) the medals themselves not being allowed to be taken, I desired the workmen to let me have two sets of their last proofs; for their manner is, as their work proceeds, to make impressions of it in pure tin, in order to correct &c. These proofs are in fact more delicate than the medals themselves, and the last of them shew the impressions complete. I have had them arranged in a frame, under glass &c. & beg your acceptance of them.

By “delicate,” Jefferson did not mean fragile, but well-detailed. The modern whereabouts of these sets are unknown; it is very possible that some proportion of either of these sets are in the current sale.

Jefferson's set left Monticello in February 1798 in the hands of an enslaved man named York, who Jefferson's son-in-law and overseer, the abusive drunkard Thomas Mann Randolph, called “allmost (sic) an idiot.” Randolph told Jefferson that the thief had confessed, listing off an inventory of items from Jefferson's chambers including “some impressions in lead & tin of Dies of the Medals & Coins.” He continued “I have some hope of recovering the proofs of Medals (tis from the description I conclude they are out) I have traced one to a Negroe of the neighbourhood who b't. it of York but he says he has lost it.” The historical record on the theft and recovery thereafter falls silent; Jefferson wrote several consecutive letters to Randolph after the receipt of this letter but never acknowledged the incident. Two different men named York were enslaved by Jefferson concurrently, one of whom was inherited from the estate of Jefferson's father-in-law in 1774 and described as a “Waterman,” the other of whom was born in 1781 and labored at Monticello. Presumably the York involved here was the latter of these two, aged 17 at the time of his act of resistance against Jefferson's authority.

Today, clichés of each of the Comitia Americana medals are extremely rare, with populations in the low single digits. There is not a single issue in this format that is known to the extent of 8 or 10 pieces. Matched sets of obverse and reverse are the exception rather than the rule. Each of the survivors is an accident, a piece that was made to serve a purpose at a moment in time, not produced for long-term preservation in a cabinet. Their historicity is exceptional, as each survivor was not only in the hands of the medal's engraver, but likely in the hands of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, David Humphreys, or a small number of others. Their rarity surpasses that of their normally struck cognates in nearly every circumstance.

With the possible exception of the Charles Senter Collection, sold at auction in 1933, no cabinet has ever included such a wide array of these historic rarities as the John Adams Collection.

Extremely Rare Washington Before Boston Obverse Cliché

Perhaps Unique

Earliest Die State



2005

1776 Washington Before Boston obverse cliché. As Betts-542, Musante GW-09, as Baker-47, Mooney M3. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Duvivier. 63.1 mm, 453.4 grains. 0.3 - 0.7 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain trimmed edge. Backed with remnants of paper fiber. An impression on a thin puddled sheet of tin, fully realizing Duvivier's magnificent rendition of the Houdon portrait in bold relief. The surfaces glow with luster and elegant toning highlights of bright blue and ancient gold over deep pewter gray. The rims have been trimmed down to nearly the tops of the legends. A raised wire rim surrounds the top, near 12:00. A natural flaw is seen above ER of LIBERTATIS, as made. A light dent is present low in the right obverse field, and a contact point on the rim has folded the edge above ER of EXERCTVVM. A glass finds some trivial tinsel hidden in the hair, as well as a tiny patch at the tip of the nose. The visual appeal is superb, and though this appears at first blush to be fragile, it is stout and solid, raising the full depth of the portrait from the fields.

While we can count at least three clichés of the rejected obverse die — best distinguished from this one by an exergue line at the bust truncation — this die may be unique in this form. All three of the

rejected obverse clichés are now impounded. The one from Dupré's personal collection has been in the Boston Public Library since 1888. The Norweb specimen, plated by Fuld in the TAMS Journal in 1963, was donated to the American Numismatic Society and is plated in Alan Stahl's catalog of their Comitia Americana medals (*Coinage of the American Confederation Period*, 1995). The Garrett specimen, one of a matched pair, was acquired by Stanley Scott and donated to Mount Vernon in 1985.

If this is indeed the only cliché known from this obverse die (and we have heard of no others in any collection, public or private), it represents the single earliest impression from these dies extant, the piece that comes closest to Duvivier's die that struck Washington's own gold medal shortly thereafter. Indeed, this was likely produced by Duvivier himself before the dies made their way to the Paris Mint, preserved by chance, an accidental interloper from an artist's workbench in 1789 that has survived until the present day. It is, accordingly, of the very highest historical importance.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our ANA sale of August 2012, lot 4115.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

THE PHILADELPHIA MINT COMITIA AMERICANA MEDALS FROM BELL METAL DIES

Even though coin collecting did not fully blossom into a national hobby until the end of the 1850s, medal collecting had a dedicated following even from the era of the Revolution. Pioneering specialized works on early American medals by Dr. James Mease (1821), J. Francis Fisher (1837), Thomas Wyatt (1848), all preceded Benson J. Lossing's popular history *A Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, which was published serially beginning in 1850 and on its own in 1853. Lossing's work introduced many Americans to the Comitia Americana series within their historical context, offering accurate illustrations to would-be collectors who may never have known such things existed otherwise.

The U.S. Mint began producing medals for sale to a collector clientele by the early 1840s. By 1841, Chief Coiner Franklin Peale had inventoried the medal dies on hand at the Philadelphia Mint, and soon thereafter he began making electrotypes to satisfy collector demand. The August 3, 1844, issue of the *Niles Weekly Register*, a nationally distributed newspaper, ran the list of medal dies Peale had on hand, which included only Horatio Gates (added to the Mint collection in 1801) and Daniel Morgan (acquired from Paris in 1840) from the Comitia Americana series. But the Mint also offered electrotypes of Washington Before Boston, Anthony Wayne, De Fleury, William Washington, John Eager Howard, Nathanael Greene, and John Paul Jones. The Lee obverse was discovered at some point in the next decade or so, as Mint Director Snowden included it on a list of dies held by the Mint that was published in the Report of the Director of the Mint in 1854. He noted that the reverse was "(Not in the mint.)"

When the large cent series ended in 1857, provoking nostalgia and a newfound interest in saving old coins, an upswell in collector-oriented literature spread word of the world of numismatics all over the country. Local newspapers ran columns and widely-read magazines like Harper's included numismatic content. In 1860, Mint Director James Ross Snowden published a book on the contents of the Mint's coin cabinet, then followed that effort a year later with his *A Description of the Medals of Washington, of National and Miscellaneous Medals, and of Other Objects of Interest in the Museum of the Mint*. Snowden's book offered accurate images of the medals to the Mint's growing retail clientele, which seemed to create exactly the byproduct Snowden wished, demand for the Mint's most profitable product line: medals.

It is perhaps no coincidence than the Mint sought to capitalize upon this demand as best they could. The late 1850s and early 1860s saw many new medals added to the Mint's list, including several new Washington-related medals (Snowden's pet interest). Cognizant that the U.S. Mint should be able to sell the medals authorized by the Continental Congress, at some point in 1861, James Pollock, the former governor of Pennsylvania who had taken over as Mint Director, wrote to the Paris Mint to request the French government forward the original dies to all American medals they held. The French, understandably, declined, but the Paris Mint was kind enough to sell the anxious Americans 20 specimens each of four medals: the Washington Before Boston, William Washington, John Eager Howard, and John Paul Jones. These medals arrived in Philadelphia in March 1862.

While a fixed supply was undoubtedly nice to have, Pollock wanted to control the means to produce these medals for the growing legions of new customers. He thus ordered the engraving department to produce new dies, hubbed from the medals newly arrived from Paris. A medal made of relatively soft copper would not work as a hub for a die made of steel, thus a composition softer than copper would need to be used to make the dies.

These dies have been called the "gunmetal" dies for more than a century, though as numismatist (and metallurgist) Craig Sholley wrote in the August 2018 issue of *The Numismatist*, the term is a misnomer. Sholley traced the first use of the term "gunmetal" to William Spohn Baker's 1885 *Medallic Portrait of Washington*. Baker described the first Washington Before Boston medals struck at the Philadelphia Mint and offered this story on their origin:

This medal furnished at the United States Mint, is struck from gun metal dies made in 1860 from a medal with the second reverse. The manner of making these dies is as follows. The medal is submitted to a heavy pressure from gun metal heated almost into a state of fusion [melting], thus conveying to the metal in intaglio the obverse and reverse of the original piece, and forming dies from which the mint medals are struck.

As Sholley noted, with this information appearing in no previous publication, it is likely that the Philadelphian Baker received it directly from a friend at the Philadelphia Mint.

Sholley dug into the Mint records and found that the Mint had paid John Joseph Charles Smith of Covington, Kentucky \$250 in March 1860 for "the right to use his process for impressing dies in bell-metal." Bell-metal was defined in Smith's initial patent application as an alloy of 70% copper with 30% tin, the tin making the alloy softer than the copper that would be used for hubbing. The process placed the soft-metal dies into a "wrought-iron or cast-iron collar" that would keep the pressure of hubbing from completely flattening the dies.

After the Mint acquired rights to Smith's invention, he innovated further, changing the alloy of the dies to 1/3 copper, 1/3 zinc, and 1/3 antimony. Smith also moved to Philadelphia, apparently to oversee this process. He created a system whereby the soft-metal dies would initially be cast with the design elements, then hubbed for further relief and sharpness of detail.

Studying the "gunmetal" (i.e. bell metal) productions themselves, this process explains the uniquely textured surfaces, the squared off rims, and the slightly mushy detail compared to the originals.

In 1863, the Philadelphia Mint prepared new bell metal dies for the Washington Before Boston, William Washington, John Eager Howard, and John Paul Jones medals. These dies did not last long. The dies for the Washington Before Boston medal survived until 1885, striking 145 pieces, the largest mintage of any of the four bell metal die marriages. The William Washington dies also survived well, striking 77 pieces before they were replaced after the 1884/85 fiscal year. Just 50 examples were struck from the John Paul Jones dies before they were replaced by steel copies, 25 struck in 1863 and 25 more in 1868. Only 36 John Eager Howard medals were struck from the bell metal dies, all coined between 1871 and 1879. There exists an extremely rare Howard muling that marries the gunmetal obverse with the new copy reverse; these were likely all or part of the 13 pieces struck in 1879.

With proper study, the bell metal Comitia Americana medals become easy to discern from Paris Mint strikes or later copies. Medals struck at the Paris Mint after 1842 all have edge markings, so those are easy to identify. Those struck before 1842 (usually termed "originals") have distinctively reflective surfaces that are always smooth, relatively thin planchets, edges that are either concave or gently rounded at the rims, and incredibly crisply struck detail. The later Philadelphia Mint strikes from copy dies show typefaces that are very different from those seen on the Paris Mint

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

dies and their bell metal copies, even though the central design elements are more or less the same. Since the designs of the bell metal copies are essentially the same as their Paris Mint progenitors, texture and style tells the story: surfaces that are glossy at best or even matte, but never reflective; an applied bronzed patina, usually mahogany in color, that is unlike any ever used in Paris; a very square edge, usually significantly thicker than that seen on Paris Mint strikes, and mushy fine details that are especially lacking in sharpness at their peripheries. The bell metal strikes are often slightly smaller in diameter than the Paris Mint originals as well.

The Philadelphia Mint bell metal Comitia Americana series is short — just four medals — but is an important chapter in the series. They are

the first examples of those four medals ever struck in the United States. They were coined just as medal collecting became central to American numismatics and, more broadly, one of America's most popular hobbies. Their mintages are tiny, far smaller than Paris Mint restrikes or even Paris Mint originals, but their value in the marketplace has not yet caught up to their rarity. Had the Julian book given them different numbers than the later copy dies (they are entirely different medals, after all), the collector market for them might be far different. When the Julian masterwork that has guided this part of the hobby for decades gets updated, this would be a vital edit that could extend the life of that reference for another century.

Bell-Metal Dies Washington Before Boston Medal

First United States Mint Issue



2006

1776 (ca. 1863-85) Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Julian MI-1, Musante GW-09-US1, Baker-49, Mooney M15. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. "gunmetal") transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 67.8 mm, 2456.6 grains. 7.0 - 7.3 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain square edge. Light mahogany brown with the distinctive texture of a "gunmetal" strike. The fields are rippled and uneven, the reverse devices a bit indistinct, and the rims are high and wide. The planchet is far thicker than any other sort of Washington Before Boston medal. The surfaces are glossy but not lustrous, with an even and attractive applied patina. This specimen shows some light surface verdigris, most notable around the periphery of the portrait bust and between the bottom of the queue and the word COMITIA, although some shallower patches are seen elsewhere. A few scattered marks are seen, but only a horizontal mark far below FU of FUGATIS is prominent. A light rim bruise at 9:00 on the obverse joins two small rim ticks above TIS of FUGATIS. The visual appeal is quite nice overall.

This is a rare medal. The first recorded delivery from these dies was 10 pieces in 1864. By the time these dies had deteriorated beyond usefulness in the first half of 1885, a total of 145 bronzes had been struck (and one example in silver). The biggest single year mintage was 37 in 1868.

As noted in our note on gunmetal dies above, the very origin of the term "gunmetal" - incorrect, as Craig Sholley has painstakingly proven - comes from Baker's 1885 description of these pieces. The

mother medal for these transfer dies was a contemporary French restrike, cataloged as Baker-48 or Musante GW-09-P3, using the original obverse with the third Paris Mint reverse. The most common form of that restrike is seen with a Pointing Hand edge mark, denoting a striking date in Paris between 1845 and 1860. The 20 medals that the Paris Mint sent to Philadelphia in the spring of 1862 may have been marked with the Pointing Hand, or they could have been marked with the Bee privy mark (in use from 1860 to 1879). When the transfer dies were made, the spalling pits were carefully removed from the fields, and lapping lines are seen where the heavy break was once built up between the top of E in ADSERTORI and the inside step of the rim. While Julian noted "this transfer did not include the lettering and it had to be punched in separately," the positional idiosyncrasies of the lettering on both sides matches the mother medal exactly. Some touch ups may have been required, but this medal is a complete transfer from the Paris originals. The later U.S. Mint copy dies (see next lot) do show freshly punched legends, and only their central motifs were lifted from the Paris mothers.

As the very first variety of Washington Before Boston medal produced in the United States, struck during the boom of interest in American numismatics generally and Washington material (and medals) more specifically, this scarce variety deserves more interest and demand than it gets. These medals are at least a magnitude rarer than their contemporary Paris Mint restrike counterparts.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Neil Musante, January 2017.

Gem U.S. Mint Copy Dies Washington Before Boston Medal



2007

1776 (ca. 1885-1904) Washington Before Boston medal. Betts-542, Julian MI-1, Musante GW-09-US2, Baker-49B, Mooney M16. Copper. U.S. Mint copy dies. Philadelphia Mint. 67.8 mm, 2184.2 grains. 4.8 - 5.0 mm thick. Gem Mint State. Plain square edge. Deeply reflective surfaces are smooth as glass and truly remarkable to behold, toned medium brown with a sunset shade of faded mint color at centers and hints of pale blue. Aside from a little batch of tiny marks in the right obverse field beneath Washington's chin, the fields are immaculate. This is Charles Barber's work, using an electrotype original to hub the central motifs and a U.S. Mint

punchset to place the legends. Musante reports a mintage of 167 pieces between the creation of these dies in September 1885 and the end of standard record keeping in 1904. The Rulau-Fuld contention that "only 4 [are] known" is fiction or a gross error. These are scarce, and are particularly elusive in such lovely condition as seen here. Matte surface strikes from these dies continued well into the 20th century; they are neither rare nor attractive.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, January 2017. Earlier, from Paul Koppenhaver's sale of June 1987, lot 123.

THE BATTLE OF SARATOGA

The Action:

In the summer of 1777, the British military in North America sought to cleave the rebellious colonies in two. While Sir William Howe sailed up the Chesapeake Bay and landed troops at the Head of Elk to campaign against the rebel seat at Philadelphia, General John Burgoyne marched along the Champlain Valley water route from Canada — south via Lake Champlain, Lake George, and the Hudson River on the way to Albany. Burgoyne's goal was to control the Champlain and Hudson valleys, and he endeavored to own this major north-south passage, with British held positions in Canada and New York City at either end, thereby cutting New England off from the mid-Atlantic states. Starting south across the border, Burgoyne's force of nearly 8,000 consisted of about half British regulars supplemented with German mercenaries, Loyalists, and native allies. They took Fort Ticonderoga with little effort in July, but suffered a setback at the Battle of Bennington in August.

The Continental Army of the Northern Department, aided by the Bennington victory, saw its numbers swell in late August. Major General Horatio Gates took command on August 19, replacing Major General Phillip Schuyler. Even as Washington was charged with slowing Howe's inevitable descent on Philadelphia, he saw opportunity against Burgoyne's force. He sent Gates one of his most skilled officers — Benedict Arnold — along with Major General Benjamin Lincoln and the expert riflemen who served under Col. Daniel Morgan.

Gates first met Burgoyne at the Battle of Freeman's Farm on September 19, 1777, the same week as Washington's disaster at the Battle of Brandywine outside Philadelphia. Gates' retreat preserved his force, while Burgoyne's victory cost him hundreds of men. Burgoyne waited for his army to regain strength, fully expecting reinforcements to his depleted force. Gates knew his reinforcements were unlikely to appear.

On October 7, at the Battle of Bemis Heights, Gates and Burgoyne met once again. Gates had both superior numbers and superior intelligence; he also had Benedict Arnold's maverick plans and

frenetic energy to both capitalize upon and control. Arnold led an American attack that took control of a position called the Breymann Redoubt, forcing the British troops to move. In two days, Burgoyne's men found themselves hopelessly surrounded. After a week's worth of negotiation and conversation, including a Council of War on October 13, Burgoyne agreed to surrender his entire army. Thousands of British and German troops were kept as prisoners of war, and the victory enabled Benjamin Franklin and others to successfully lobby King Louis XVI to assist the American effort.

Gates was proud of his role in this history-making triumph over the nation of his birth, writing to his wife on the day of the surrender "If Ole England is not by this lesson taught humility, then she is an obstinate old slut, bent upon her ruin."

The Resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress, in their own name, and in behalf of the inhabitants of the thirteen United States, be presented to Major General Gates, commander in chief in the northern department, and to Majors General Lincoln and Arnold, and the rest of the officers and troops under his command, for their brave and successful efforts in support of the independence of their country, whereby an army of the enemy of 10,000 men has been totally defeated, one large detachment of it, strongly posted and entrenched, having been conquered at Bennington, another repulsed with loss and disgrace from Fort Schuyler, and the main army of six thousand men, under Lieutenant General Burgoyne, after being beaten in different actions and driven from a formidable post, and strong entrenchments, reduced to the necessity of surrendering themselves upon advantageous to these states, on the 17 day of October last, to Major General Gates; and that a medal of gold be struck under the direction of the Board of War, in commemoration of this great event, and in the name of these United States, presented by the president to Major General Gates.

— Continental Congress Resolution of November 4, 1777



General Horatio Gates



Benedict Arnold



General John Burgoyne

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The Surrender of John Burgoyne by John Trumbull.

The Acquisition:

The day after Congress resolved to award Gates a gold medal, Henry Laurens of South Carolina wrote to the victorious general from Congress' temporary seat in York, Pennsylvania in his capacity as President of Congress.

I feel myself particularly happy in the honour of transmitting the enclosed vote of thanks by Congress in their own name and in behalf of their constituents to yourself, to Major General Lincoln, Major General Arnold and the rest of the officers and troops under your command, with an additional vote for perpetuating the remembrance of this great event by a medal.

Your name Sir will be written in the breasts of the grateful Americans of the present age and sent down to posterity in characters which will remain indelible when the gold shall have changed its appearance. Permit me, sir, to add that I participate not only in the general rejoicing but in that also which is visible among your very best friends.

General Gates was anxious to receive his medal even before the war ended. In June 1779, he wrote again to Laurens, saying "I believe I am to wait until you are again President, before I shall receive my medal."

As it turned out, Gates' medal was among the first for which arrangements were made. David Humphreys was the first American emissary to Paris charged with working on the Comitia Americana project, carrying instructions given by Robert Morris in June 1784. Humphreys, who served as secretary of the legation to Paris, engaged with Louis XVI's preferred medalist of the day, Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux, to execute the Gates medal. This process enters the known written recorded record in December 1785, when Jefferson is informed by Gatteaux that there's a problem with the portrait of Gates he was given: the general is depicted wearing the eagle badge of the Society of the Cincinnati, first instituted in 1784. Gatteaux wrote to Jefferson — why he didn't ask Humphreys isn't clear — if the medallic portrait of Gates should include this anachronism or

not. Jefferson passed Gatteaux's query on to Humphreys on December 4, 1785:

I inclose you a letter from Gatteaux observing that there will be an anachronism, if, in making a medal to commemorate the victory of Saratoga, he puts on General Gates the insignia of the Cincinnati which did not exist at that date. I wrote him in answer that I thought so too: but that you had the direction of that business, that you were now in London, that I would write to you and probably should have an answer within a fortnight, and that in the mean time he could be employed on other parts of the die.

The exact print Gatteaux was first given is unclear, but from the portrait that Gatteaux ended up creating, it's clear the eventual mother image was the popular engraving of Gates created from a portrait by Pierre Eugène du Simitière. Elvira Clain-Stefanelli's suggestion that Gatteaux was initially using the extraordinarily crude engraving by John Norman seems highly unlikely.

The historical record on the creation of the Gates medal goes silent from the end of 1785 until early 1787, but clearly progress was being made.

The gold Gates medal had not been completed by the end of March when the March packet sailed for New York. On March 21, 1787, in the transmittal letter for Nathanael Greene's gold medal from William Short to John Jay, Short noted "the medal for Genl. Gates ordered by Congress and contracted for by Colo. Humphries (sic) is not yet finished; but will certainly be in time to be sent by the May Packet." The next day, in a letter to Jefferson, Short sounded less certain. "Mr. Walton who set out this morning for Havre took charge of the medals for Congress, that is those of Genl. Greene," Short wrote. "I have heard nothing farther from the engraver of Genl. Gates's."

Just a few days later, Short — who clearly had taken on responsibility for the Gates medal by this point — updated Jefferson again. "General Gates's medal is at length advanced to that point at which by the contract the engraver is entitled to receive 1200 [livres tournois]. I have told him I would write to you on the subject. He promises to finish it, without fail, in time to go by the May Packet. I think the likeness is very good considering the manner in which it has been taken." Jefferson forwarded an order for 1200 livres, drawn on the banker Ferdinand Grand, to Short on April 7 "for the workman who makes Genl. Gates's medal." On April 24, Short acknowledged the order had been received and paid over to Gatteaux. The deal had been completed.

In a wide-ranging and lengthy letter to John Jay dated May 4, 1787, Jefferson noted in his eleventh paragraph "I am in hopes Mr. Short will be able to send you the medals of General Gates by this packet. I await a general instruction as to these medals. The academies of Europe will be much pleased to receive each a set."

Short did not disappoint, addressing Jay the same day. "Sir, I have the honor of forwarding to your Excellency by M. de Crevecoeur

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the medal for Genl. Gates mentioned in my letter sent by Mr. Walter and accompanying that of Genl. Greene. M. de Crevecoeur takes charge also of twenty four medals of bronze to be delivered to your excellency. These have been made agreeably to the contract with Colo. Humphries (sic)."

The Gates medal was hand carried to the American continent by French writer and diplomat John Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, usually known as simply Crevecoeur, then serving as French consul at New York. Crevecoeur left Paris bound for New York on May 7, 1787, and in a letter from William Short to Jefferson the following day Short noted "Crevecoeur has gone for Havre, to sail from thence the 10th. He took with him the medals of Genl. Gates." Crevecoeur landed in New York in late June 1787 on board the *Courrier de l'Europe*, carrying a letter of introduction to James Madison and accompanied in the passenger compartment by none other than John Paul Jones. Upon his arrival, Crevecoeur likely delivered the Gates medals — one in gold, 23 in bronze — to John Jay, who then delivered Gates' own medal to Arthur St. Clair, the President of Congress.

Jefferson received and paid for the silver Gates medal struck for presentation to George Washington on July 4, 1789.

The Presentation:

The August 1787 presentation of Gates' gold medal was a reunion of sorts. The medal was delivered into Gates' hands by letter from Arthur St. Clair, whose abandonment of Fort Ticonderoga in July 1777 helped lead Burgoyne into Gates' hands at Saratoga. Gates



Horatio Gates' Virginia home, Travelers Nest.

received St. Clair's letter of August 9, 1787 at his home, Travelers Rest, in what was then Berkeley County, Virginia and is today near Kearneysville, Jefferson County, West Virginia. He thanked St. Clair profusely on August 31, 1787.

Sir:—I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 9th inst., with the elegant medal in gold, which the most honorable the Congress, in their names, and in behalf of the inhabitants of the thirteen United States, were pleased to direct the Board of War to have struck and presented to me. Nothing could add to this distinguished mark of the favor and approbation of Congress but my receiving it in so polite a manner from the hands of your Excellency; from you, sir, whom, in the course of thirty years, I have so often had the honor to accompany on a vast variety of military service.

Permit me, likewise, to declare the satisfaction I feel in seeing your Excellency's merits crowned by the high station you now fill with such acknowledged ability. That the prosperity, honor, and happiness of the United States may last to the end of time, and that your Excellency may continue to enjoy the best blessings fortune can bestow, is my constant, ardent wish.

The Horatio Gates at Saratoga Medal:

Obverse: A portrait of Gates to left, apparently based upon the Gates portrait by Pierre Eugène du Simitière; the dress is either civilian or intended to be military but mistakenly lacking his epaulet. Legend HORATIO GATES DUCI STRENUO (Horatio Gates, valiant general or energetic leader). COMITIA AMERICANA (American Congress) in exergue.

Reverse: Gates upright at right, holding his hat and extending his right hand, Burgoyne on bent knee offering sword at left. Burgoyne's troops, in left background, furl flags and lay down their arms. An artillery piece points away. At center background, a furled flag is laid over a drum. At right left background, American troops stand tall with shouldered arms surmounted by bayonets. A sword-wearing officer stands in front of the American line. A single flag is raised at right. At left end of the exergue line, a grouping of cannonballs. At right end, a victory laurel. Main legend SALUS REGIONUM SEPTENTRIONAL (Safety in the northern regions). In exergue, HOSTE AD SARATOGAM INDEDITION ACCEPTO DIE XVII OCT MDCCLXXVII (Advancing to the surrender of Saratoga, October 17, 1777).

Extremely Rare Silver Original 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal

Unique in Private Hands



(Photo Enlarged)

2008

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557. Silver. Original striking. Paris Mint. 55.8 mm, 1511.8 grains. 4.8 - 5.1 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, witness line or collaring mark near 11:00 relative to the obverse. One of just three examples known in silver, the only one outside of an institution and available to private collectors. Violet and pale blue tones dominate the obverse peripheries, richest in the exergue and around GATES, while the orange and golden shades that predominate across the central obverse likewise cover much of the reverse. The fields retain good reflectivity despite some fairly trivial hairlines. Non-numismatic handling is responsible for the friction on the highest relief of the remarkable portrait of Gates, as well as the scattering of marks seen across both sides. A nearly vertical nick just below Gates' eye, and a quartet clustered in the area of the field near the space between HORATIO and GATES align with those seen on the 1914 Parsons plate, where this medal was described as showing "a few light nicks on obverse." The edge is free of bruises, though the wire rim shows some impact points. An old and faint vertical scratch runs along Gates' profile at the central reverse, and some hints of jeweler's rouge — evidence of an ancient polishing — remains at NU of REGIONUM and inside the wire rim atop the reverse, along with the interiors of a few letters on the obverse. The overall visual impression is enhanced by the dramatic relief, the lovely toning, and the in hand heft; it is overwhelmingly positive. Were this a common medal from the last quarter of the 18th century, it would be a lovely one. Alas, a medal from this era can be no rarer than this.

Die state comparison based upon illustrations of microscopic surface breaks is a treacherous sport, as cracks and chips can change in size and shape due to shadows from lighting, quality of photography, and more. The reverse of the Gates medal betrays its die state most readily, with a spalling crack (caused by a brittling

of the steel die face) that spans from the rim, to the top left serif of the second N in SEPTENTRIONAL, to the base of the adjacent O, to the top of the flagpole. The available photographs of the unique gold specimen presented to Gates himself, now preserved at the New-York Historical Society, do not allow for perfect comparison, but our examination of them suggests that the die states are essentially equivalent, and this silver specimen is struck from the earliest reverse die state seen or studied. The obverse is slightly later, though the distinction is subtle. Die polishing after the creation of the trial splashes separated the external lapel fold of Gates's vest (parallel to O of HORATIO). The fold is connected on both of the trial obverse strikes in this collection (see lots 2009 and 2010) and appears connected on the unique gold piece as well, but it is subtly separated here.

This medal was struck sometime between the spring of 1787, when the gold medal was struck, and July 4, 1789, when Jefferson recorded three transactions with Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux: a refund of 76 livre tournois from Gatteaux to the account of the United States from an earlier overpayment, a payment of 26 livres and change "for silver medal of Gates ... for U.S.," and a note to charge the United States for the 31 livres tournois he had paid to Gatteaux personally on February 22, 1787, for a silver Nathanael Greene medal which he noted as received from Gatteaux "and which I now put into their [i.e. the United States] collection." These were the silver medals intended for Washington's set. This piece shows an essentially identical die state as the Washington-Massachusetts Historical Society piece and was likely struck at the same time.

At 6:00 on the edge of this piece, the number 3502 has been delicately drawn in black ink. We have seen identical inventory numbers before on a broad range of American historical medals (different numbers, of course, but identical ink, hand, and fabric).

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In one case, a large group of identically-marked medals was acquired by a private Georgia collector in the late 1950s; in every case, those medals had come from Fred Baldwin of London, but were of primarily American or Canadian interest, including Betts medals, important Washington medals, etc. The Charles Wharton Washington Before Boston medal in silver, sold in our March 2014 Baltimore auction, had just such a number. The buyer of this piece in the 1914 Parsons sale was listed as "Historical," an identity not found in other Chapman sale bid books reviewed for several years prior and several years hence. Presumably this was an institution of some kind, and presumably this unknown institution marked the medals that ended up being sold by Baldwin's in the late 1950s. Baldwin may have had an American source who placed the collection in London to add some level of exoticism (and not embarrass the deaccessioning institution); the October 1968 Glendining's sale, for instance, featured Washington medals consigned by John J. Ford, Jr. that had been previously owned by George Fuld. Museums were frequent sellers of numismatic items in the 1950s. The Maryland and New Jersey Historical Societies both consigned medals to Sotheby Parke-Bernet sales in the 1960s, the University of Pennsylvania and American Philosophical Societies both sold major holdings privately in this era, and other institutions similarly raised cash by selling their coin and medal cabinets. Someday, we may discover which institution formed, then dispersed, what must be considered one of the all-time great American medal collections, one that included not one but two original Comitia Americana medals in silver!

The Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal is one of seven Comitia Americana medals to have been struck in gold. The original gold presentation piece for General Gates is one of four that still exists, and like the other three, it is permanently off the market in a major institution (the others are Nathanael Greene, George Washington, and Anthony Wayne). Gates' medal has been the property of the New-York Historical Society since 1889, given to them by the great-grandson of his trusted colleague at the Battle of Saratoga, Ebenezer Stevens. Stevens commissioned Gilbert Stuart to paint Gates in 1793; Stuart's portrait, depicting Gates wearing an exaggeratedly large version of his gold medal, hangs in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, just across Central Park from the medal itself. Stevens' son was Gates' godson and namesake: Horatio Gates Stevens. When Gates' second wife made out her will, it ordered that the younger Stevens receive "the large Gold Medal which was given by Congress to my late dearly beloved and revered husband, General Horatio Gates ... with the injunction from me to my Legatee, never to forget that the medal I leave him, was a distinguished testimonial of important services rendered to America, and that he bears the name of one who was a Hero, a Patriot, and a man of unsullied probity and honor."

With Gates' gold medal off the market (and, thankfully, well appreciated and on display in New York), an original striking in silver is the most noble form of this medal that can be collected. There are but three: Washington's silver example in the cased set at the Massachusetts Historical Society, the example in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, and this one. While a silver example from these dies appeared in the 1925 W.W.C. Wilson sale as lot 803, that piece was struck with a flatter exterior rim, shows a later die state (most notably at the interior reverse rim above ON of

SEPTENTRIONAL), displays filing at the usual rim cud at the left side of the reverse exergual line, and was described as a condition utterly unimaginable for a silver original: "Proof." The Wilson piece was undoubtedly a U.S. Mint restrike from these dies. Adams and Bentley note R.W. Julian's statement that in 1801 "Adam Eckfeldt had struck twelve silver" specimens but mused that this was "highly unlikely given that only one of the four listed in our census could have been made in Philadelphia." The Wilson piece is the one to which Adams and Bentley refer, and your cataloger hasn't an iota of doubt of its Philadelphia origin.

The only other reference to a silver Gates medal in the historical record appears in the 1854 *Annual Report of the President of the Maryland Historical Society* among an inventory of medals once in the collection of Joel Barlow, then the property of the Society. Barlow was in Paris from 1788 to 1792, then later returned as the United States Minister to France in 1811. In 1852, his collection of coins and medals was donated to the Society, a hodgepodge of ancient coins, modern world coins, American coins (one described as "U.S. of America, 1792" sounds interesting), and medals. These were divided into "volumes," of which Volume 11 was described as: "2 American Washington medals, 1796, silver; 1 American silver Jefferson medal, 1801; 1 American silver Gen. H. Gates medal, 1777; 1 U.S. 3 cent coin, 1851; 2 Massachusetts shillings of 1652." The silver Washington medals were, presumably, two of the famous Seasons medals intended to be awarded to Native Americans. The 1801 Jefferson medal could have been an inaugural medal or an Indian Peace medal. The Gates medal could only have been one of these. Harlow was in Paris when the originals were struck, which is suggestive. He was not in the United States when the Burr restrikes were made in 1801 (he returned to live in Washington DC 1805 to 1811), but he was clearly close to the Gates family — Horatio Gates' widow left the general's papers to Barlow, and they were given by Barlow (via Robert Fulton, of all people) to the New-York Historical Society before he left for Paris in 1811. So Barlow's silver medal could have been an original — like, for instance, this one — or it could have been an 1801 restrike (like, for instance, the W.W.C. Wilson specimen). As far as we can tell, it is no longer at the Maryland Historical Society.

The present example was last offered for sale in the legendary 1986 Dreyfuss sale. It appears on the public market record just one other time with certainty — the 1914 Parsons sale — and is quite likely the same specimen that sold in the 1882 Bushnell sale as well. A well-funded institution could make the Gates at Saratoga medal permanently uncollectible in silver. A slightly better funded private collector could ensure the ability for future individuals to own what is unquestionably one of the most important American medals extant.

*From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Merena / Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of the David W. Dreyfuss Collection, April 1986, lot 5237. Earlier, probably the specimen in S.H. and Henry Chapman's sale of the Charles I. Bushnell Collection, June 1882, lot 1612 (sold to Ed. Frossard, who in 1885 cataloged the first auction offering from the consignor of the following); Henry Chapman's sale of the Hon. George M. Parsons Collection, June 1914, lot 2117; sold to "Historical;" unknown intermediaries to the Dreyfuss Collection. Plated in "Back to Medal Collecting" by John W. Adams, *The American Numismatic Association Anthology*, 1991, p. 132.*

Important 1777 Gates at Saratoga Obverse Splasher



2009

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga obverse cliché. **Betts-557.** White metal. **Original striking.** Workshop of Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux. **55.1 x 54.6 mm, 352.8 grains. 1.2 - 1.9 mm thick.** **Choice About Uncirculated.** Plain beveled edge. Paper backed, with little fiber now present, traces of red sealing wax across unadorned back. Produced before the delivery of the gold medal in May 1787, this is among the earliest surviving impressions of Gatteaux's Gates obverse. As described in 2012, "The surfaces of this piece show faint golden toning over tin gray surfaces that retain some luster and liveliness, an unusually fine state of preservation for an 18th century splasher in reactive tin. The impression is sharp, and no major defects are seen. We note a little depression, as made, on the inner rim near 6 o'clock and some light scattered spotting, just toning and not corrosion. The die is in the same state as the earliest strikings, completed and correct." This die had not yet been polished enough to create the separation of Gates' external (our left, his right) lapel.

The blank back of this piece matches that of the reverse cliché in lot 2011. Considering their identical modern provenance, their matching toning, and these nearly identical backs, it appears likely they were originally a matched set, together since their creation in the spring of 1787.

This was the only Gates obverse splasher in the all-encompassing Ford Collection. In a nearly exhaustive examination of a century and a half of auction catalogs, the only other appearance known to us appears in the ca. 1913 fixed price list issued by Godefroy Mayer in Paris ("Proof impression without reverse. In zinc"). Perhaps non-coincidentally, the only other example known to us is offered in the following lot.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of August 2012, lot 4075. Earlier, from Harry Forman to John J. Ford, Jr. on November 4, 1967; Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 196.

Unusual Bronzed 1777 Gates at Saratoga Obverse Splasher



2010

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga obverse cliché. Betts-557. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux. 54.9 x 55.0 mm, 361.0 grains. 1.5 - 2.0 mm thick. Extremely Fine. Plain irregular edge. Paper backed, with complete coverage by the thick paper, somewhat folded back at top and peeled away near right lower periphery. The die state is equivalent to that seen on the previous lot and that seen on the unique gold medal.

The production quality of this piece is not as fine as the previous, but splashes (also called clichés or épreuves) were not designed to be pretty or even intended to be saved. They were simply to give a positive (i.e. relief) impression of a die that was engraved in the negative (i.e. incuse). This piece shows some waviness in the fields and some irregularity at the edges that suggest a quick pour with no significant post-production preparation. The applied patina, meant to suggest a bronze tone, has left the surfaces of the reactive tin slightly granular. Red sealing wax remains in several intricacies of the portrait, legend, internal rim, exergual line, and edge; perhaps this splasher was used to impress the design into sealing wax on a letter rather than risking having to clean wax out of the steel die. The wax is ancient, original, and stable.

The only other Gates obverse splasher known to us is offered in the previous lot. While we know of no provenance prior to this piece's acquisition from noted American Francophile Richard Margolis, it is suggestive that the sole appearance of a lone obverse cliché of the Gates medal we've recorded comes from the too-little-known fixed price list issued in 1913 by Godefroy Mayer of Paris. Entitled "Old Paintings, Drawings, Miniatures, Statuettes, Busts, Snuff Boxes, Bonbonnieres, Medallions, Medals, and Other Objects of Art Related to America," Mayer's offering was extraordinary: silver original strikes of Howard and William Washington, splashes of Gates and Morgan, a uniface Dupré Franklin medal in bronze, along with five (!) clichés of the *Libertas Americana* medal and a set of large plasters representing the central device of each side. Either there exists but a single unknown Gates obverse cliché in the historical record *and* this piece has no provenance prior to 2010 *or* this is the piece offered by Mayer in 1913 as lot 355.

This piece is a fascinating relic of the design process for this historical American medal, handcrafted by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux in the spring of 1787.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Richard Margolis, privately, January 2010. Earlier, perhaps offered in Godefroy Mayer's fixed price list of 1913 as lot 355.

Unique 1777 Gates at Saratoga Reverse Splasher

From Earliest Error Die State

RECIONUM



2011

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga reverse cliché. Betts-557. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux. 55.1 x 55.1 mm, 355.2 grains. 1.4 - 1.7 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain beveled edge. Paper backed, with little fiber now present, traces of red sealing wax across unadorned back.

This is the single earliest known impression of the reverse of the Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Described in the Ford sale as a “splasher of an unadopted reverse die,” it bears two notable differences from the finished medals: REGIONUM is misspelled RECIONUM, and the signature GATTEAUX F. appears above the exergual line rather than below it. Careful scrutiny reveals that this was produced from the same reverse die, though the die was significantly altered to correct the error. The primary evidence that this is the same die is the shared die anomalies: the tiny crack that joins two steps of the interior rim above ON of SEPTENTRIONAL is present here, as is some spalling at the innermost circle below 9:00, parallel to the band that wraps the stand of arms at the base of their bayonets. Plenty of distinctive small positional details line up, from the low S in SEPTENTRIONAL, to the placement of the final period after that word at the bayonet ricasso, to the finer points of the central device that were brought up with hand engraving rather than a hubbed design punch.

The differences are perhaps more notable: the errant C in RECIONUM was deftly corrected to a G, but the position of the letter shows it was not entirely repunched. GATTEAUX F. was removed from the ground beneath Burgoyne’s feet, but its removal is evident on the strikes from the finished die (and the top point

of the A in his name is still visible there). The exergual inscription, between the state that produced this splasher and that of the finished die, was completely removed and repunched, in fact, the raised area upon which GATTEAUX F. was punched on the finished state of the die was a wholesale addition after this initial attempt. The entire exergual legend was lapped or polished off and repunched, and the longest leafy extensions from the laurel at the right side of the exergual line were added after this state.

The blank back of this piece matches that of the obverse cliché in lot 2009. Considering their identical modern provenance, their matching toning, and these nearly identical backs, it appears likely they were originally a matched set, together since their creation in the spring of 1787.

The only other Gates reverse splasher known to us was in the 1986 Dreyfuss sale as lot 5239. That piece exhibited a spur break from the interior rim above ON of SEPTENTRIONAL seen on Philadelphia Mint productions and was clearly created in the 19th century; despite its later date of creation and U.S. Mint origin, it was a bargain — even in 1986 — at \$40. This piece, as the sole witness to the first reverse state and design, is unreplaceable at any price. It brought more than any Comitia Americana splasher in Ford XIV except the John Stewart obverse offered in the present sale as lot 2028.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 197. Earlier, from Harry Forman to John J. Ford, Jr. on November 4, 1967.

Original Bronze 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal

Struck at the Paris Mint in 1787



2012

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557. **Bronze**. Original striking. Paris Mint. 55.5 mm, 1157.2 grains. 4.5 - 4.6 mm thick. **Extremely Fine**. Plain concave edge. Rich dark chocolate brown with hard, glossy surfaces. Well struck and very attractive, though showing the evidence of non-numismatic handling typified by the true originals from these dies. Some shallow surface roughness hides within the peripheral obverse legend, and hints of verdigris cling within the reverse exergual lettering. The rims show some marks and tiny nicks, including one on the reverse above NT of SEPTENTRIONAL and another near 6:00, but no major bruises are seen. Some ancient pin scratches blend into the toning in the spaces between the words of the obverse legend, and some old nearly vertical scratches are seen under scrutiny in the right obverse field. The scratches in the left field are less notable, save for the thin hairline from Gates' nose to the base of TI. The portrait shows some light wear, and a few old contact marks are seen. The recipient of this medal in 1787 may not have been a collector, but was likely a supporter of the American patriot cause.

Likely one of the 23 bronzes carried to the United States by Crevecoeur with the gold presentation strike bound for General Gates himself, this piece displays an especially early reverse die state and an obverse die state that precedes the die polishing that separated Gates' vest lapel tip. The reverse die state is perhaps not as early as it may appear, as the finger-shaped break in the space below IO of SEPTENTRIONAL has been neatly scraped away eons ago, with no significant damage or affect to the current appeal or patina. The spalling and cracking between ON the reverse is thin and early in its progression, similar to that seen on other original Paris Mint productions.

Bronze Gates medals appear relatively common, due to the Philadelphia Mint's use of these dies to make restrikes until the third quarter of the 19th century. Paris Mint strikings are easily discernible with examination: their die state is discrete and early, their surfaces are glossy rather than reflective, their tone is typically deep chocolate brown rather than Philadelphia Mint light brown or mahogany, their edges are concave rather than squared. On this piece, the edge shows collar lines — either segments or ejection lines — that stretch from rim to rim at 2:30, 4:00, and 10:00 relative to the obverse. These distinctions were little known or understood by earlier specialists. Rarely does a vintage catalog describe a bronze Gates as original — nor should such a description be entirely trusted, given the use of "original" as a simple dichotomy with the specimens struck from copy dies after 1885.

Ford owned one original in bronze, offered as lot 193. The Adams-Bentley census located 31 specimens in bronze, but did not separately list those thought to be among the 23 delivered in May 1787. The Dreyfuss specimen, singled out for mention in the description of Ford:193, was clearly a Philadelphia Mint production, as are all seen whose grade approaches Mint State. Your cataloger cannot recall seeing more than a couple of these, and the condition of this piece and the Ford example are typical of them. While a gem example from these dies struck at the Philadelphia Mint in the 1860s and finished with a lovely mahogany patina is a beautiful thing, this piece is something much different, much rarer, and much more historic.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from New Netherlands Coin Company. Earlier, from Seaby, January 23, 1963.

Superb Tin 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal

Struck at the Philadelphia Mint ca. 1801



2013

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Tin. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.8 mm, 975.4 grains. 4.3 - 4.5 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain squared edge with a collar mark or witness line at 6:00. An absolutely superb specimen, one of the finest seen of this tin emission, fully Mint State by most modern standards. The surfaces are lustrous and the fields retain nearly full reflectivity on both sides. The silver-white tin has assumed subtle highlights of gold and pale blue, but remains free of oxidation. The devices are struck into their best relief, with just a bit of flatness at the highest points of Gates' hair. Some streaks of natural granularity are seen below the plane of the upper left obverse field, as made. Despite the fragile nature of soft-metal strikings such as this, few flaws are seen. Some very shallow old scratches are seen off the profile below GATES, a couple of trivial nicks are present on his cheek, and a single thin scratch descends from the clouds but stops before reaching Burgoyne's nose on the reverse. The rims are clean, with a tiny bruise above E of GATES but little else to mention. Interestingly, the wire rim — called a "fin" at the early U.S. Mint and deemed a production error — was filed off at the time of striking to make the medal more perfect, but the edge cud in the lower left reverse is left alone, though later 19th century strikings almost always show the Mint habit of filing that rim cud flat. The overall eye appeal is flashy and a profound step up from typical specimens. This is among the very nicest we've encountered.

The die state is early, though measurably later than the Paris strikings. The rim break adjacent to the cannonballs at the left side of the exergual line is nowhere near as large as its broadest extent in post Civil War era strikings, but is still quite large. The break above 3:00 on the reverse is only slightly more advanced than Paris Mint strikings in copper and silver. The devices are crisply defined throughout.

The tradition that Aaron Burr delivered the Gates dies to the Philadelphia Mint in 1801 has always been clouded by a seeming lack of contemporary documentation. The

Gates dies appeared on Franklin Peale's 1841 "Register of the Medal Dies of the U.S.," a document of sufficient national interest that it was actually printed in the nationally distributed *Niles National Register* on August 3, 1844. Adams and Bentley quoted Julian's account of the arrival of these dies at the Philadelphia Mint in 1801, not entirely convinced of Julian's accuracy, and pondered whether Aaron Burr may have found the dies "at the Treasury of in the archives of the Secretary of State." The truth may be found in Burr's own letters, published in Volume II of his *Memoirs of Aaron Burr* (1837).

New-York, March 30, 1802

My dear sir,

Yesterday I was favoured with your obliging letter of the 23d inst. by Mr. Peter Townsend; also, with a most beautiful silver medal from the die I have presented you. It is in the highest polish and perfection. In respect to the tin medal and its case, I have only heard of them from you, as I never received either, or a single line from Mr. Dallas. But men so much engaged in business seldom have time to attend such small affairs.

Affectionately yours,

Horatio Gates

Aaron Burr received another relevant letter on May 25, 1802, from John Taylor of Caroline, who later served in the U.S. Senate representing Virginia. "Dear Sir," he wrote to Burr, "Your favour, covering the medal struck to commemorate the most brilliant exploit of the American war, from some cause unknown to me, never arrived until this instant. It is particularly acceptable from the circumstance of my having imbibed a personal affection for General Gates by having served under him for a few months."

We can discern a few important facts from these original documents: 1) Burr received the dies directly from Gates and deposited them at the Philadelphia Mint,



2) Burr had strikes made in both silver and tin, and sent Gates one of each, 3) Burr distributed these medals personally to his friends who shared his adoration of the general whom he preferred to Washington, Gates' victory at Saratoga, coming on the heels of Washington's losses in the Philadelphia Campaign of the fall of 1777, created a conspiratorial rivalry between the two generals in the minds of many, including the conspiracy-minded Burr. Burr was decidedly on Team Gates, and even 25 years later, his affection for Gates had not relented.

The tin Gates medals all show essentially identical die states, and all appear to have been struck at Burr's behest in 1801 or early 1802. They are rare. Ford owned only one (not quite as nice as this one, incidentally). LaRiviere likewise had one. Adams and Bentley called tin strikings R-7 and counted just seven of them. The three in this sale, plus Ford and LaRiviere's, make five of that total, so we are inclined to believe the total surviving is slightly higher. Many come scruffy and tinned, at least one is holed (Presidential Coin and

Antique, December 1991), and one is known with a sprue or casting gate at 12:00 that suggests just how these planchets were made (New Netherlands' 63rd sale - Harry Bass I, May 1999). Other specimens are noted in the Fewsmithe sale of October 1870, George Cogan's sale of May 1872, the great Bushnell sale of 1882, H.G. Sampson's final sale (June 1889), the fabulous Parsons sale of 1914 (described as showing "two dents on obv."), and Frossard's sale of October 1893. In modern times, they have been offered on at least three occasions in Presidential Coin and Antique sales, and Stack's and Stack's Bowers have sold five discrete specimens in the last 13 years since the Ford XIV offering (none prettier than Minot, May 2008:524 at \$6,900).

An estimate of 20 survivors may be high, or it might be right on the money, but it's not significantly misplaced either high or low. Among them, this ranks among the very top tier.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Paul Patterson, June 1986.

Historic Tin 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal The Work of Aaron Burr



2014

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Tin. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 56.0 mm, 1028.4 grains. 4.4 - 4.6 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain squared edge with flattened collar mark or witness line at 12:00. Another highly appealing example of this historic emission, struck in Philadelphia about 1801. The devices are well realized and free of all but the most minor friction. Good luster and some traces of reflectivity persist, the fields somewhat toned down with oxidation but still attractive silver-white with hints of pale blue and gold. A glass reveals some raised pest in the fields, but only the specks behind Gates' portrait

are visible with the naked eye. Another group near his neck are well hidden among the contours of Gatteaux's portrait work. The rims and edges are clean, and neither side shows any significant marks or scratches. The die state is not measurably different than the previous medal, showing the same rim break at the left side of the reverse exergue and the same spalling cracks near 3:00 on that side.

Not even Ford had two of these, and despite the relative bounty offered here, any tin Gates medal is a rarity.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige. Earlier, from Abner Kreisberg, August 1958.

A Final Tin 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal



2015

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Tin. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 56.1 mm, 1079.6 grains. 4.5 - 4.8 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain squared edge, no visible collar mark. A final offering, with strong detail and bright luster. Though a bit more deeply toned than the previous example, this piece shows less pesty oxidation, and the fields remain mostly smooth and glossy. Scattered nicks are seen on both sides, most minor, and some handling is seen on the edge, though none is

especially severe. The pair of marks near Gates' nose in the left obverse field make us wonder if this is the unplated piece from the 1914 Parsons sale, described as having "two dents on obv." sold as lot 2115. Highly attractive, a better than usual example of this rarity even if listed third here. It's a coin toss as to whether this piece or the one that precedes it is nicer. Regardless, both are equally historic, struck within weeks (days?) of each other for distribution by Aaron Burr to one of Gates' allies or associates.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Glendining's.

Exceptional Bronze 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal

Philadelphia Mint, Early Die State



2016

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Bronze. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.8 mm, 1506.2 grains. 5.0 - 5.2 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain squared edge. A truly exceptional specimen, set apart from typical bronze examples not only by its superb quality, but also by its early die state and unbronzed finish. The surfaces are lustrous and beautiful, with highly reflective fields displaying the look of a gem quality early large cent rather than the typical glossy mahogany finish of a post-1855 U.S. Mint medal. The devices are exceptionally well struck and complete in both detail and relief. The surfaces, from center to rim, are close to immaculate, with only the most trivial marks and benign surface dirt. The usual rim break at the left side of the

reverse exergue has been filed flat with exceptional care, though the process truncated the largest of the cannonballs. The break above ON of SEPTENTRIONAL now shows a missing triangular piece inside the raised rim above the left upright of N, placing this a bit later than the tin strikes produced in 1801. It's impossible to say when this piece was struck, but it seems more likely that it was struck in the 1840s or 1850s — or even earlier — than in the 1860s or 1870s, when heavy bronzing (and a more advanced die state) was typical. This is a distinctive piece, much different in appearance and quality than later strikes from these dies.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Leonard Finn, December 1983.

Very Choice Bronze 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal
Late Die State Philadelphia Issue



2017

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Bronze. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.6 mm, 1182.4 grains. 3.5 - 4.1 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain squared edge. A fascinating specimen, similar in finish to the preceding lot (i.e. struck without heavy bronzing), but from a significantly later die state and presumably on a different press. That this piece is double struck is not surprising, as any medal struck in this sort of relief would have required multiple blows; on this piece, the double striking shows a light rotation that has left the obverse peripheral legends and the profile profoundly and evidently doubled. The fields are smooth, lightly reflective, and highly lustrous, with subtle gold and blue-green toning against choice milk chocolate brown. Devices are especially well struck up on both sides, and neither side shows any conspicuous flaws, though some scattered harmless spotting is noted on the reverse. The rims on both sides have been expertly filed to remove both rim breaks (i.e. cuds) and any present

wire rim or "fin." On the obverse, a small rim cud over the space before G of GATES has been taken down. On the reverse, large rim cuds from left of 6:00 to nearly 8:00 and from 5:30 to near 3:00 have been polished flat, but the entire reverse periphery has been similarly treated. The usual break through and above ON of SEPTENTRIONAL is present, now with a larger break on the right side of O than seen on the previous lot. The central reverse is somewhat wavy and buckled in appearance. Despite the lack of heavy bronzing — a surface usually associated with earlier dating — this is clearly a later die state than most Gates at Saratoga medals seen, including the bronzed specimens in the following two lots. Taken at its most basic level of numismatic appreciation, this piece is very pretty, exceptionally well preserved, and a worthy production of these historic dies.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Earlier, from Stack's sale of December 1963, lot 789.

High Grade U.S. Mint 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal Original Dies



2018

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Bronze. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.7 mm, 1496.6 grains. 4.6 - 4.9 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain squared edge. Bronzed patina. Choice rich deep mahogany brown, even and beautiful, with an applied patina that leaves the surfaces neither lustrous nor matte, neither reflective nor frosty, but aglow with gloss nonetheless. Essentially perfect, with just a little speck of surface corrosion on the rim above O of HORATIO and a trivial

bruise above HO. Typical mid-19th century die state, with the usual cracks. The rim cuds have been spectacularly well machined, evenly and clearly using a technology other than crude hand filing; the rim cuds are in both an earlier state than that seen on an earlier lot, but also better handled by the Mint technicians during the post-striking process. A very lovely example of Gatteaux's design but also of the Philadelphia Mint's best medal-creation efforts.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.

Lovely U.S. Mint 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal



2019

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Bronze. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.7 mm, 1332.2 grains. 4.3 - 4.7 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain squared edge. Bronzed patina. A final example, as perfect as the last, but struck and released with its rim cuds in full form, without any hints of filing. The reverse rim breaks rise in rounded relief from N of REGIONUM to 3:00, beside the muskets that gather after

SEPTENTRIONAL. The rim cud at the left side of the exergue line is healthy and likewise only barely treated with filing after striking. The die state is advanced, with the die yielding right of O (though not as late as lot 2017) and the central reverse buckling. The surfaces are immaculate, somewhat lustrous, and choice dark chocolate brown. Line up all these Saratoga medals and there will be those with good eyes who select this as the prettiest of all of them.

From the John W. Adams Collection.

Gem U.S. Mint 1777 Gates at Saratoga Medal
Late Die State, Original Dies



2020

1777 Horatio Gates at Saratoga medal. Betts-557, Julian MI-2. Bronze. Philadelphia Mint. Original dies. 55.6 mm, 1348.2 grains. 4.7 - 5.2 mm thick. Gem Mint State. Plain squared edge. Bronzed patina. Deep mahogany bronzing shows the best effort the Philadelphia Mint could offer. Essentially flawless, with subtle violet, gold, and blue highlights over immaculate surfaces. The obverse rim has been gently filed at the time of production to reduce the wire rim or “fin,” and most of the reverse rim breaks have been similarly treated by the careful Mint personnel. This piece would have sold for \$2 in 1863, though the price for U.S. Mint Gates medals dropped to \$1.50 on Mint medal lists from closer to the turn of the 20th century. These dies survived until at least 1885. Julian cites a letter from Chief Engraver Charles Barber stating the original dies were still in use; only two Gates medals were struck that year. They disappear from the Mint production records until 1896, suggesting the copy reverse

die — nearly identical but showing clearly different letter forms and no die breaks — had been prepared by then. This example shows significant rim breaks around most of the reverse. The rim break present in 1801, at the left side of the exergue line, has remained nearly unchanged, but additional cuds developed from just below the rim side of the exergue all the way around the circumference, counterclockwise, to above N of REGIONUM at 11:00. An adjacent retained cud is more subtle from 10:00 to 11:00. The crack from the flag through ON of SEPTENTRIONAL is advanced, creating some bowing in that area, and the central reverse has begun to swell as well. It's difficult to tell exactly when this medal was struck, though it was clearly near the end of the die's lifespan, so 1870s or 1880s is as good a guess as any. It has been stunningly well preserved since then, making this piece especially worthy of pursuit.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Frank Vivalo, October 2007.

THE BATTLE OF STONY POINT

The Action:

One need not be a military mastermind to look at a map and understand the strategic importance of the Hudson River. From New York City's seaward port to the Canadian border, the Hudson River acts as a wet superhighway, navigable for all but a 12 mile overland portage from the falls of the Hudson to the southern tip of Lake George, whose northern end connects to Lake Champlain at Fort Ticonderoga. Control of this waterway could effectively cleave New England from the mid Atlantic states and thus manage the entire Northern theatre of the American Revolution.

When two minor forts along the Hudson fell into British hands in May 1779, Washington was alarmed. Sir Henry Clinton's forces captured Verplanck's Point and Stony Point, across the river from each other at a narrow choke point 12 miles downriver from West Point. The forts themselves weren't of great importance, but they represented the termini of Kings Ferry, the main commercial path across the Hudson in the region. With West Point fortified to command the river, and Washington's main army in the area, it was important to retake what was lost.

Washington worked quickly, asking Pennsylvania Line commander Gen. Anthony Wayne to lead an expedition against Stony Point, on the west side of the river. The British position was atop a hilly peninsula that was accessible only from the low swampland to the west. Wayne built a small force of infantry and engineers to retake Stony Point. The 1,150 men of the Light Infantry gathered in the middle of the night under a veil of darkness and silence; Wayne is said to have had dogs in the neighborhood killed so none would sound an alarm. Muskets were unloaded and bayonets were fixed, giving Wayne not only the advantage of a quiet approach, but also a chance to avenge the bayonet massacre near his Pennsylvania home that became known as the Battle of Paoli. "Remember Paoli" became one of the rallying cries of his force as they put their bayonets to use at Stony Point.

Wayne commanded the full body of troops, while the right and left advance guards were commanded by the patrician French engineer Lt. Col. Francois De Fleury and Major John Stewart, respectively.

De Fleury was the first to breach the fort's earthworks and grab the British flag, yelling "The fort's our own!" When Wayne wrote to Washington at daybreak to report the victory, he told the general "our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free."

Wayne and his men had captured valuable supplies, more than 500 British soldiers, and 15 artillery pieces in 25 minutes of brisk action, losing just 15 killed. This was not a major battle, nor was it a major victory, but its success nonetheless delighted Washington and the members of the Continental Congress, none of whom had gotten much good news during the 1779 campaign season. Wayne, De Fleury, and Stewart were all voted medals just days after the taking of Stony Point.

The Resolution:

Resolved, unanimously, That Congress entertain a proper sense of the good conduct of the officers and soldiers under the command of Brigadier General Wayne, in the assault of the enemy's works at Stoney Point, and highly commend the coolness, discipline and firm intrepidity exhibited on that occasion.

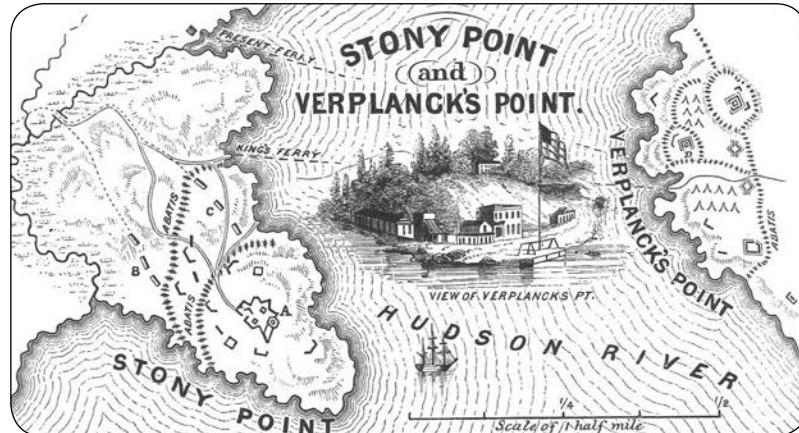
Resolved, unanimously, That Lieutenant Colonel Fleury, and Major Stewart, who, by their situation in leading the two attacks, had a more immediate opportunity of distinguishing themselves, have, by their personal achievements, exhibited a bright example to their brother soldiers, and merit in a particular manner the approbation and acknowledgment of the United States.

Resolved, unanimously, That Congress warmly approve and applaud the cool, determined spirit with which Lieutenant Gibbons and Lieutenant Knox led on the forlorn hope, braving danger and death in the cause of their country.

Resolved, unanimously, That a medal, emblematical of this action, be struck:

That one of gold be presented to Brigadier General Wayne, and a silver one to Lieutenant Colonel Fleury and Major Stewart respectively and that five thousand of copper be struck for Congress.

— Continental Congress Resolution of July 26, 1779



WAYNE AT STONY POINT

The Acquisition:

The Wayne medal — or at least the Wayne medal as we know it — was among the last of the Comitia Americana medals to be finished. Among the three medals awarded for Stony Point, the medal for Lt. Col. De Fleury was the first completed by nearly a decade. Within a few months of the action at Stony Point, De Fleury was already pestering Benjamin Franklin, then a resident of Paris. Wayne, a soldier's soldier, had better things to do and seems not to have noticed when his medal got left on the back burner.

On May 31, 1780, Franklin wrote to the President of the Continental Congress, Samuel Huntington, that De Fleury's medal had been delivered and "I shall get the others prepared as soon as possible by the same Hand if I cannot find a cheaper equally good." Franklin's next relevant missive was to the Secretary of the Board of Treasury, the Continental Congress's purse strings, on August 10, 1780:

I received the Letter you wrote me by Order of the Board of Treasury, dated Sept. 29. 1779. requesting me to procure Medals to be struck here agreeable to the Several resolutions of Congress you inclosed to me. I have got one of them finished, that in Silver for Colonel Fleury; & two others, with the same Devices relating to Stony Point, one for Major General Wayne in Gold and one for major Steuart in Silver. They are well done, by the king's medallist; But the Price is high, each Die costing 1000 Livres. Col. Fleurys is delivered to his Order here, he being returned to America. The other two will go by the first good Opportunity.

In summary, Franklin noted that De Fleury's medal was done, and that those awarded to Wayne and John Stewart had been designed by Duvivier and merely awaited the creation of the dies. But he did not tell those back home in the Continental Congress everything. Duvivier had, at Franklin's request, struck extra De Fleury medals and had — instead of creating expensive new dies — planned to take the rather gauche step of merely tooling off De Fleury's name, then engraving Wayne's and Stewart's. Franklin was sticking to Poor Richard's adage that a penny saved was a penny earned and risking a bad decision that would harm both his legacy and those of two heroes.

Adams and Bentley cite a July 10, 1780, Franklin's account book to prove that these make-do medals were produced, even before Congress was informed. Either out of shame or just lack of concern, Franklin remained in possession of the first draft gold Wayne and silver Stewart medals until 1784, when he gave them to Henry Laurens following the Treaty of Paris negotiations to carry back to



America. Laurens reported receiving from Franklin "a gold medal voted by Congress to Major Gen'l Wayne which I had the honor of delivering at his request to the General in person."

Wayne was apparently non-plussed. Not only did Thomas Jefferson set about creating a properly unique medal for Wayne before returning from Paris in 1789, but that first gold medal was deaccessioned from the Wayne family holdings within a few decades. In the February 1851 auction of the Dr. Lewis Roper Collection, considered the first important numismatic auction ever held in the United States, lot 22 1/2 was described as "Gold Medal — Storming of Stony Point, value in gold \$30." It brought \$38 and has not been seen since.

Wayne's proper gold medal was designed by Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux, using an obverse design that was basically a mirror image of that created at the same time for Col. John Stewart. Jefferson described its devices in a personal memo drafted about February 1789, and it was completed in time for Jefferson to carry home with him on his return to the United States in September 1789. Jefferson delivered Wayne's gold medal, along with the silver striking in Washington's cased set, to President Washington soon after his arrival. He likely carried most of the bronze strikes with him as well.

The Presentation:

President George Washington was busy on March 25, 1790. Aside from attending the consecration of the new Trinity Church in lower Manhattan (best known today as the final resting place of Alexander Hamilton), Washington took the time to mail four Comitia Americana medals to their recipients: William Washington and John Eager Howard for their exploits at Cowpens, and John Stewart and Anthony Wayne for their heroism at Stony Point.

Sir,

You will receive with this, a Medal struck by order of the late Congress in commemoration of your much approved conduct in the Assault of Stoney Point — and presented to you as a mark of the high sense which your Country entertains of your services on that occasion.

This Medal was put into my hands by Mr. Jefferson; and it is with singular pleasure that I now transmit it to you.

I am,

Sir,

With very great esteem,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

George Washington

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

The best narrative on the modern history of the gold Wayne medal was written by David Enders Tripp as the preface of our Ford XX catalog, October 2007. From the arrival of the gold medal on Tripp's desk in early 1977, through John J. Ford's insistence that it was a restrike, over Tripp's extensive research and comparison with the silver specimen at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and arriving at Ford's 1978 auction-day admission that the medal was original, Tripp tells the story masterfully through its denouement: "Of course, Ford had known all along."

The original transmittal letter remained with Wayne's gold medal at his country seat in Chester County, Pennsylvania (near modern-day Paoli, where our consignor grew up and where your cataloger received most of his schooling). It was docketed in the spring of 1817 by Anthony Wayne's son, Isaac Wayne, to mark a visit paid to the medal by a noteworthy local numismatist. "Dr. Mease of Phila. last summer had a view of this Medal for the purpose of describing it in his catalogue of American Medals, a description can be obtained from him. March 1817." In 1970, that letter transacted along with the bronze medal offered below. In April 2010, it sold again, as part of the first offering of Sotheby's sale of the James S. Copley Library, realizing \$98,500.

The Anthony Wayne at Stony Point Medal:

Obverse: The goddess America or Columbia, symbolized with a headdress and a skirt typically described as composed of tobacco leaves, appears at left in half-stride, with her alligator at her feet, as usual. A union shield leans to left at her lower leg. She holds a crown in one hand and extends a laurel wreath in the other, which Wayne reaches out to accept. The general stands at right, holding his tricorn. In the exergue beneath them, COMITIA AMERICANA, while the periphery reads ANTONIO WAYNE DUCI EXERCITUS or "Anthony Wayne, General of the Army."

Reverse: An expansive battle scene, with the Hudson River at the right horizon and a stone fortress high above a mountain top at left. Troops climb the mountain through every canyon in the distance, while ranks of troops line up at left and in a serpentine column from the foreground to right. An artillery battery appears in the right foreground. Seven masted ships appear in the distance. Little of this scene is realistic, including the European-style castle where a wood and mud fort ought to be.



(From Birch's Views, Plate #13)

Extremely Rare Original Anthony Wayne at Stony Point Medal

The Only Collectible Form of the Original Wayne Medal in Private Hands



2021

1779 Anthony Wayne at Stony Point medal. Betts-565. Copper. Original dies. Paris Mint. 53.9 mm, 961.4 grains. 4.1 - 4.3 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge. An exquisite production and an extraordinary rarity, the only original Wayne medal known to us in private hands. The surfaces are reflective and pleasantly toned deep chestnut brown, with some rosy tones around the central obverse where an ancient cleaning has left subtle hairlines. On the reverse, navy blue enlivens the lustrous center. The broad rims and exceptionally sharp devices lend special visual appeal to the production, and no demerits are noteworthy enough to attract the eye. A wedge cut is noted on the rim at the right side of the reverse exergue, and a dull old scratch crosses the bottom right serif of A of COMITIA on a northeast to southwest diagonal. The obverse shows some spread between two strikes, best seen on the word COMITIA, but both sides show the benefits of these two impressions: remarkable details on the alligator's scales, the goddess America's feathered skirt, Wayne's uniform and hat, and the entire reverse scene.

The reverse is reminiscent of the 1720 Louisbourg Founded medal, given the proportions of horizon and sky, but the battle scene is quite unlike anything else in the Comitia series. It also utterly unlike the landscape upon which the action at Stony Point took place. Nonetheless, the fine details are fascinating: the cannon carriages, the phalanx of troops, the pointed abattis.

The die state of this piece appears in every way equivalent to Washington's specimen in silver at the Massachusetts Historical Society and Wayne's own gold piece, offered by Sotheby Parke-Bernet in June 1978 and now the property of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution. A vertical fissure appears below some flecks of die spalling between the top of Wayne's boots. A group of spalling artifacts is present south of S of EXERCITUS, and a smaller group appears further down that lower right obverse field adjacent to the top of Wayne's boot. On the reverse, a cloud of spalling chips centers on E of EXPUGNATUM. Raised file marks on the broad rim above the top of the reverse are in the die; other file marks on the rim itself are from the reduction of the edge "fin" or wire rim at the time of this medal's production.

No other modern collection of Comitia Americana medals has included any impression from these dies, in any state or composition. No clichés are known. Aside from the gold specimen

sold in June 1978, the last apparent offering of this medal in any form seems to have been in the October 1933 Charles W. Senter sale, where a bronze example was sold as one of 16 pieces in lot 22 (at \$27.50). Henry Chapman's sales room copy of the catalog shows underlines beneath "Stony Point" (i.e. the Wayne medal) and "De Fleury," perhaps indicating that those medals were originals. The lot also included "three shells" of the Stewart medal.

We record just two other sale appearances of this medal in bronze. The cataloging of the example in Henry Chapman's Charles Morris sale of June 1911, lot 36, gives us every reason to assume it is an original and not a (then fairly contemporary) U.S. Mint copy. It brought \$2 to "C," Chapman himself, and may be the example later offered in the Senter Collection. The Frankfurt partnership of Leopold and Leo Hamburger offered a bronze example in their May 1893 Kosloff and Tambosi sale (which notably also included a bronze Diplomatic medal). The sequence of Hamburger (1893) - Morris (1911) - Senter (1933) certainly allows for these to all be the same medal; the modern dearth of appearances and true rarity of this medal further suggests these medals may all be the same. There is also a reference to an example in the New York State Library, published in the 1857 catalog of their medal collection (p. 156), though the description is unclear if the piece is an original or an electrotype; your cataloguer suspects the latter.

The 1978 sale of his personal gold medal was the only appearance of an original Wayne medal in the life of the cataloger. Given the latest previous known sale was in 1933, it was also the only public offering within the life of our consignor or nearly anyone else reading these words (Harvey Stack excepted). With that gold medal now forever off the market, and the only other medals known in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and Kunsthistorisches Museum (silver) and the British Museum (copper), this is the only collectible example of this medal in any original form.

Wayne's heroic exploits are among the most legendary of the American Revolution. His gold medal's sale remains one of the most famous chapters in the history of American medal collecting. This offering only adds to Wayne's centuries-old legacy of fame.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986. Earlier, acquired from renowned autograph dealer Mary Benjamin in 1970, then accompanied by the original letter from George Washington to Anthony Wayne that transmitted Wayne's gold medal.

Superb Anthony Wayne at Stony Point Electrotypes



2022

1779 (i.e. ca. 1842?) Anthony Wayne at Stony Point electrotypes. As Betts-565. Copper shells over lead. Electrotypes copy. 53.1 mm, 1041.0 grains. 3.8 - 4.1 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Square filed edge with seam. An electrotype accomplished with unusual competence, almost certainly one of those made at the Philadelphia Mint by Franklin Peale after January 1842. The fields are glossy and smooth, light brown and appealing, with good detail on all devices. The rims and diameter are not as broad as on the original medal above, but the relief is similar and the overall appearance comes very close to that of a struck medal. Some trivial marks and verdigris are present, and lead shows through at Wayne's elbow and below the second E of EXERCITUS. Raised file marks, as left on the mold that produced the electrotypes, are seen at EY of STONEY and at the right corner of the exergue. The sharpness is good enough that the die spalling of the original medal is visible around E of EXPUGNATUM, making this an impressive production indeed.

R.W. Julian reports that when Peale made his Comitia Americana medal electrotypes, Anthony Wayne's original gold medal was

owned by "A.R. Perkins of Philadelphia." Abraham Robinson Perkins (1805-1877) was Wayne's nephew (his mother was Wayne's sister in law); he was partners in a dry goods firm with his brother Thomas Jefferson Perkins. Perkins and Peale may have been friendly through a Philadelphia institution or simply because they were both high profile members of the Center City community, enabling Peale to borrow the original medal as a means of producing electrotypes. While he made a decent number of them, most seem to have found their way into museums and they rarely (if ever) appear on the market. When Franklin Peale Patterson presented Peale's medal collection to the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia in 1919, an electrotype Wayne was included. Of the eight Comitia Americana medals included in the Volume Three of the collection, as presented, Patterson noted "these medals are all made by the Electrotype process, in moulds from the original medals or authentic copies by F. Peale."

This is the Wayne electrotype depicted in Adams and Bentley's *Comitia Americana* on page 75.

From the John W. Adams Collection.

Another Anthony Wayne at Stony Point Electrotype



2023

1779 (i.e. ca. 1842?) Anthony Wayne at Stony Point electrotype. As Betts-565. Copper shells over lead. Electrotype copy. 53.9 mm, 564.8 grains. 2.8 - 3.3 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Square filed edge. A very different production than the one above, made from a different electrotype mold and assembled in an entirely different way. Rather than a seam marrying two shells at the edge, this piece has a separate edge band into which the obverse and reverse shells have been inset. The seam, rather than being at the middle of the edge, is just inside the rim of each side. This is much thinner than the above and more crudely made, with some bubbling around the obverse periphery and a raised center dot on the obverse. It appears to have been made from the same original medal (notice the doubling in the reverse exergue, identical to that seen on the

electrotype above), but the molds were clearly different, as this one shows none of the file marks around EY of STONEY. The quality and eye appeal are still nice, with glossy dark mahogany surfaces that are mostly smooth and altogether appealing.

Given that this appears to have been made from the Wayne gold original, it is not unreasonable to assume it was made at the Philadelphia Mint. An electrotype of nearly identical construction in the National Numismatic Collection is further evidence of this. But it begs the question: whose signature is the ghostly incuse C or G between the words COMITIA and AMERICANA?

From the John W. Adams Collection. Earlier, from Presidential Coin and Antique Company's sale of December 2003, lot 523.

DE FLEURY AT STONY POINT

The Acquisition:

The only foreign officer to receive a medal for heroism during the American Revolution was also the first to receive his finished prize. Robert Troup, the secretary of the Continental Congress' Board of Treasury, wrote to Benjamin Franklin in Paris in September 1779 to ask him to begin work on several medals: "The impracticability of executing the Work in this part of the World obliges the Board to forward them to you with an earnest request to have the Medals voted struck as soon as possible with such Devices as may be judged emblematical of the Occasions which excited the Notice and obtained the Thanks of Congress." Troup also requested that the dies be forwarded to America as soon as possible.

Within just a few months, Lt. Col. De Fleury was already writing to Benjamin Franklin dictating the inscriptions for his silver medal and requesting that a specimen be delivered to King Louis XVI.

Sir

The king has desired me to send to him my medaille; I did answer, you had Received order to have it struck; & that as soon it would be done, I should present it to him.

If it was possible it Could be struck next week, I would be much obliged to you. Or if you have too much business, give me that Care; tell me the price you intend to put to it, & I shall Carrefullly follow your directions.

I Could wish in one side the fort of Stonypoint, with this motto. aggeres, paludes, hostes victi. On the other side. A crown of Laurels, with a flag Struck. & this motto— Corona muralis. Round it, the united States to L. C. Fleury.

I beg you would answer to Me as soon as possible, & believe me very Respectfully your Most obedient humble servant

Fleury

Franklin, ever eager to please the French, set to work at a pace that was unusual for him. He wrote De Fleury in January 1780 to ask for help locating a proper medalist. There is no record De Fleury was helpful in that regard, but in March 1780 the well-born officer wrote to Franklin to inform him that he would be rejoining his regiment but that his medal could be left with his father. De Fleury also asked if a gold medal could be struck at his own expense. "It will not hurt the dies," De Fleury wrote, "I leave the money for that purpose in the hands of the medalist. He will keep the gold medal for me till my return."

While Franklin had De Fleury's medal struck with some of the inscriptions he had requested — Aggeres Paludes Hostes Vici does indeed appear on the reverse of his medal around an image of the fort at Stony Point — he does not appear to have satisfied De Fleury's ego by allowing a medal to be struck in gold, a composition intended exclusively for those of a general's rank and not their junior officers, no matter how wealthy or influential.

Pierre-Simon Duvivier wrote to Franklin on April 20, 1780, to report that De Fleury's medal had been completed, but also asked Franklin to come look at the proofs of the unhardened dies "to take advantage of your opinions while there is still time: "je desirerois

avant de faire tremper les coins avoir l'honneur de vous en montrer les Epreuves pour profiter de vos avis pendant quil en est encore temps."

Within a month, the medals had been struck, as Duvivier reported to Franklin in a letter dated May 27, 1780. Franklin wrote home to Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, on May 31 to pass along the news. "The Medal for M. Fleury is done and deliver'd to his Order, he being absent." Duvivier displayed the medal at the Salon of 1781. De Fleury was given the medal upon his return to France in August 1783.

The Presentation:

On April 15, 1783, Benjamin Franklin sent the medal to De Fleury, along with the following letter, written in French (translated here into English):

Sir,

I have the honor to send you, in accordance with the orders of the Congress, the Medal which they ordered me to have struck, in memory of your good action at the attack of Fort Stony-Point, to present it to you on their behalf.

I fulfill this duty with pleasure, having myself a high opinion of your merit. I desire you to carry for a long life this honorable mark of their consideration.

I am, with great esteem, &c.

B. Franklin

Franklin's letter was republished in the French press in the autumn of 1783, leading the editors of Franklin's papers to wonder if the letter was written by Franklin in 1780 but republished with an edited date by the newspapers of the time. Your cataloger suspects it's more likely that the medal was held by Duvivier, retrieved by Franklin in 1783, and presented upon De Fleury's return in that year.

The De Fleury at Stony Point Medal:

Obverse: De Fleury, depicted as a Roman centurion, raises a short sword in one hand while upending the British flag with the other, standing triumphant in the rubbed debris of the fort at Stony Point. VIRTUTIS ET AUDACIAE MONUM. ET PRAEMIUM or "A monument and prize for virtue and boldness" surrounds the periphery, while the densely packed exergue reads D DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO PRIMO SUPER MUROS RESP. AMERIC. D.D. or "to the French officer De Fleury, the first to conquer the walls, given by the American Republic."

Reverse: A fantasy depiction of the fortification atop Stony Point's mountainous plateau, with six ships in the Hudson beyond and a positively enormous flag inside the right wall. The legend, as requested by De Fleury himself, reads AGGERES PALUDES HOSTES VICTI or "Fortifications, swamps, and the enemy overcome" with an exergual inscription STONY PT. EXPUG. XV JUL MDCCCLXXIX or "Stony Point taken 15 July 1779." The overall design resembles that of the 1758 Oswego Captured and other earlier French military medals.

Spectacular Silver Original De Fleury at Stony Point Medal

The Only Comitia Americana Medal Completed by Franklin

Apparently Unique in Private Hands



(Photo Enlarged)

2024

1779 De Fleury at Stony Point medal. Betts-566. Silver. Original dies. Paris Mint. 45.6 mm, 674.6 grains. 3.2 - 3.3 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, witness line or collar marks at 11:30 and 12:00. A singularly beautiful specimen, elegantly toned with pastel blue and pale gold highlights over deeply mirrored obverse fields and lustrous, flashy reverse peripheries. Described in the 1882 Bushnell sale as a "sharp, perfect impression," this medal shows a grand wealth of detail from Duvivier's well executed and distinctive design. Some trivial hairlines are noted, but no substantial marks on either side. Raised die spalling is seen beneath AC of AUDACIAE and three individual lumps are present above the left side of the exergual line at the bases of RT in VIRTUTIS. This medal is unusually attractive and highly original.

Any De Fleury medal in original form is a rarity. Bronze medals appear only occasionally, with nine examples listed on the Adams and Bentley census, making this among the most elusive of the "collectible" Comitia Americana medals. In silver, this medal is an extraordinary prize.

The Adams-Bentley census enumerates five examples in silver:

1. **Massachusetts Historical Society.** The specimen in the Washington-Webster cased set.
2. **American Numismatic Society.** Earlier provenance unrecorded.
3. **Library Company of Philadelphia.** A gift from Benjamin Franklin himself.
4. **Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.** W.W.C. Wilson (November 1925), lot 805 - Henry Chapman estate - New Netherlands 63rd sale, lot 613 - Bowers and Merena's Bass I sale (May 1999), lot 2082 - Joseph Lasser.
5. **The present specimen,** the sole silver example left in private hands.

The story Lossing told about a De Fleury medal being discovered in Princeton, New Jersey is perhaps apocryphal, given the one unifying characteristic that all five known specimens share: exceptional condition. Lossing footnoted a cut of line drawing with the following tale:

This identical silver medal was found by a boy while digging in a garden at Princeton, New Jersey, toward the close of April, 1850, and was deposited in the bank at that place for the inspection of the curious. How the medal came there is uncertain. De Fleury returned to France before the medal was struck, and it probably was never in his possession. Congress was afterward in session at Princeton, and the medal may have been lost by the secretary, in whose custody it properly belonged until delivered to the recipient of the honor.

Lossing's source appears to have been one of the two daily papers in Sunbury, Pennsylvania. Both the *Sunbury American* and the *Sunbury Gazette and Northumberland County Republican* ran a story in their May 11, 1850 editions that stated, in full:

Relic of the Revolution. — A large silver medal was found digging a garden last week, in Princeton, having on the obverse a figure of Victory standing on a rampart, with a drawn sword in one hand, and a flag-staff in the other, with the colors under one foot. On the reverse is a picture of Stony Point, with ships in front. Either side contains inscriptions which show that it was presented by the United States to D. De Fleury for his bravery at the taking of Stony Point, July 15, 1779. The Whig says, that after the capture of this post, Congress ordered "three different medals to be struck, emblematical of the action, and awarded respectively to General Wayne, Colonel Fleury, and Colonel Stewart."

Wayne's was gold, the others' silver. This, then, is Col. De Fleury's medal.

The only one of the medals with enough toning to even offer a glimmer of hope that it was once in the ground is the ANS specimen, but even that seems like a long shot. Had the Princeton boy found a white metal cast? Or a silver example not currently known? We know with certainty that it was neither the MHS nor Library Company of Philadelphia specimens — both have provenances that predate 1850 — and this piece and the Bass-CWF examples are just too pristine to have ever been in the ground. That the story appeared in two newspapers in a small town 150 miles from Princeton, New Jersey — but has not been found in papers in New Jersey, nor those in New York or Philadelphia — suggests but does not prove that this story may have just been made up.

Twenty years ago, when a silver De Fleury medal was last offered at public auction, there were two of these within the grasp of private

collectors. With the acquisition of that medal by Joe Lasser and its subsequent donation to Colonial Williamsburg, this example has become unique outside the vaults and galleries of historical institutions. As the earliest of the Comitia Americana medals to be struck, the only one given to a foreign officer, and the only one with such an adventurous design, the De Fleury medal stands out. This particular medal deserves a particularly luminous spotlight.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Sotheby's sale of December 1993, lot 636. Earlier, from S.H. and H. Chapman's sale of the Charles I. Bushnell Collection, June 1882, lot 1608 to "Harrison," T. Harrison Garrett Collection; T. Harrison Garrett to Robert and John Work Garrett, by descent, 1888; Robert Garrett interest to John Work Garrett, 1919; transfer completed 1921; John Work Garrett to The Johns Hopkins University, by gift, 1942.

Very Rare Copper Original De Fleury at Stony Point Medal



2025

1779 De Fleury at Stony Point medal. Betts-566. Copper. Original dies. Paris Mint. 45.5 mm, 501.8 grains. 2.8 - 3.0 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, witness line or collar marks at 11:30 and 12:00, identical edge markings as found on the silver piece above. Lustrous deep tan with mahogany and navy blue highlights presenting a very attractive aesthetic appeal. Some light marks are seen in the upper right obverse field, but no other flaws are noteworthy. Very sharp and well preserved. Struck on a cast planchet, with a tiny crack seen on the edge at 6:00 that further manifests on the rim in the reverse exergue. Die state apparently identical to the silver specimen above, with the same areas of spalling below RT of VIRTUTIS and AC of AUDACIAE.

The Adams and Bentley census cites nine De Fleury originals in this composition. Two were present in the Ford Collection, neither of which was substantially better or worse than this one, though one showed several spots. While two were listed in the "Midwestern Collection," only one original actually appeared in the Newman sales (Heritage, May 2014, lot 30434), bringing \$41,125. Two of the nine listed are impounded (Colonial Williamsburg and the British Museum). While the Smithsonian Institution holds 10 examples of this medal, all are either from U.S. Mint copy dies, electrotypes of originals, or — a twist — an electrotype of a copy.

Historical offerings include the piece offered by the Chapman brothers in April 1886, lot 2027, described as "Very Good, dented on edge," the bronze example in Henry Chapman's 1914 George M. Parsons sale, lot 2121, and the piece in lot 22 of the amazing 1933 Charles W. Senter sale. The bronze "Unc." in Elder's June 1926 sale, lot 1028, and bronze "Proof" in S. Hudson Chapman's June 1917 sale, lot 641 are both potential originals, perhaps the \$26 Elder lot more so than the \$12 Chapman lot. Both the New York State Library (1857) and Maryland Historical Society (1850) described holding bronze specimens, but it is not known if those pieces were originals or electroypes, nor if they are still present in those collections. Aside from the Ford (2006) and Newman (2014) offerings, the only other examples sold within the lifespan of a typical modern collector are those sold in the May 2001 LaRiviere sale, lot 1071, and one sold in our 2008 Americana sale, lot 7122, the latter quite possibly the "Very Good, dented on edge" specimen sold by the Chapmans in 1886. One of Ford's examples was resold in our August 2012 ANA sale. None have been sold publicly since.

This example is among the very best — and certainly most attractive — survivors of this elusive rarity, one of perhaps only a half dozen or slightly more in private hands.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.

One of Two Recorded De Fleury at Stony Point Clichés

As Shown to Franklin in April 1780



2026

1779 (April 20, 1780 - May 4, 1780) De Fleury at Stony Point obverse cliché. As Betts-566. White metal. Original dies. Workshop of Duvivier. 44.8 mm, 230.2 grains. 1.3 - 1.4 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Trimmed irregular edge. Plain back covered in a base level of paper, from a scrap written on in ink, and secondary level still present at center. One of just two De Fleury clichés known in private hands, and perhaps one of two anywhere. Neither Adams-Bentley nor Stahl's listing in the ANS COAC mention any clichés of either the De Fleury obverse or reverse. The surfaces are an appealing and even glossy antique gray, showing some gathered surface dirt but no major flaws. The eye appeal is wholesome and original, and a glass detects only a few dull old marks in the fields and among the bricks left of the centurion.

This cliché shows Duvivier's original design, which was slightly modified before striking finished medals. The exergual legend, as seen here, reads D. DEFLEURY EQUITI GALLO / PRIMO SUPER MUROS / R.F. AMERIC. D.D., a substantially different layout than seen on the finished medals, which read D DE FLEURY EQUITI GALLO / PRIMO SUPER MUROS / RESP. AMERIC. D.D. As it turns out, the change in the exergue explains the reason this cliché exists — and shows the extent to which Franklin was involved in this medal's design process.

Duvivier wrote to Franklin on April 20, 1780, to report that De Fleury's medal had been completed, but also asked Franklin to

come look at the proofs (i.e. clichés) of the unhardened dies "to take advantage of your opinions while there is still time: "je desirerois avant de faire tremper les coins avoir l'honneur de vous en montrer les Épreuves pour profiter de vos avis pendant qu'il en est encore temps." As Adams and Bentley noted "Franklin accepted the artisan's offer because he wrote back requesting him to correct the defects in the lettering," telling Duvivier, as translated by Adams and Bentley, "I have shown the proofs of the medal to several persons who find them good, with the exception of the letters in the exergue. These are so irregular that I ask you to correct them if possible." These letters from Franklin allow this cliché to be dated to the brief period from April 20, when Duvivier asked Franklin to view the "épreuves," to May 4, when Franklin asked for the design as shown here to be slightly modified.

This remarkable historical paper trail, direct from Franklin's pen, makes this cliché one of the most desirable of all Comitia Americana clichés known. The other known De Fleury obverse cliché was struck from the identical pre-modification die state and was discovered in France in 2013. It sold in our November 2017 Baltimore sale, as lot 8, for \$10,800.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, Lot 201. Earlier, from Charles McSorley on November 6, 1965.

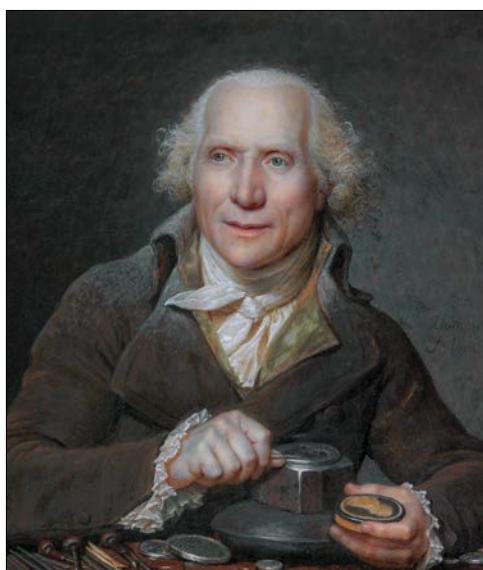


2027

1779 (i.e. after 1880) De Fleury at Stony Point medal. As Betts-566, Julian MI-4. Copper. U.S. Mint copy dies. Philadelphia Mint. 46.0 mm, 849.6 grains. 4.3 - 4.4 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. Lustrous and lightly reflective, with light brown surfaces highlighted with rose and gold. Double struck to bring up the exacting relief, with some doubling seen among the reverse legends. Very attractive, though a few trivial marks are noted, including a couple on the raised rim above MI of PRAEMIUM. A spot of corrosion is hidden on the edge below 3:00, relative to the obverse, but invisible from either side. One of the most elusive Philadelphia Mint medals of the Comitia Americana series, with a mintage of just 45 between 1882 and 1904. The copy dies were prepared in 1880 but not put into use until the second half of 1882; the initial mintage of 20 must have sold out quickly, as two more medals were struck the following year.

According to Julian, Mint Superintendent A. Loudon Snowden borrowed a silver original De Fleury medal from a New York collector named Robert Stuart in March 1880. After new dies were produced, copying their central motifs from Stuart's medal but composed with new punches and lettering, "Snowden returned the silver medal along with a newly-struck bronze copy on June 24, 1880." Interestingly, no bronze medal was listed on the 1880 roster of medals manufactured at the Philadelphia Mint, suggesting that those mintage figures can perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. Regardless of the precise figure, this is a very scarce U.S. Mint medal, one that challenges even those collectors who have decided to forego acquisition of a Paris original.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.



Pierre Simon Benjamin Duvivier by Francois Dumont.

STEWART AT STONY POINT

The Acquisition:

Procurement of the John Stewart medal, much like its design, echoes that of the Anthony Wayne medal. After Franklin's cataclysmically bad idea of offering Wayne and Stewart re-engraved knock-offs of the De Fleury medal, Thomas Jefferson righted the ship in 1789, overseeing Gatteaux's production of the near-twin Wayne and Stewart medals, along with Dupré's majestic medal for Daniel Morgan.

Stewart's medal was designed to be smaller than Wayne's medal, befitting his rank as Major. It is the same size as the medals for Lt. Col. De Fleury, Lt. Col. William Washington, and Lt. Col. John Eager Howard. By the time of the medal's creation, Stewart had been commissioned as a Lieutenant Colonel of the Maryland Line.



The Presentation:

Hand-carried home by Thomas Jefferson along with Washington's set of Comitia Americana medals, Washington's gold medal for the evacuation of Boston, Wayne's gold medal, and the three medals for Cowpens, Stewart's silver medal was never seen by its intended recipient. Lt. Col. Stewart died on March 26, 1783, in Charleston, South Carolina after being thrown from his horse and breaking his neck. Having survived a heroic charge at the head of an infantry column the night of the taking of Stony Point, Stewart was felled by an unruly steed.

Picking up his pen on a Thursday morning, President George Washington wrote not to this medal's recipient, but to his father, Steven Stewart.

New York, March 25, 1790

Sir,

You will receive with this a medal struck by order of the late Congress in commemoration of the much approved conduct of your Son (the late Colo. John Stewart) in the assault of Stony Point—and was to have been presented to him as a mark of the high sense which his Country entertained of his services on that occasion.

This Medal was put into my hands by Mr Jefferson, and it is with singular pleasure that I now transmit it to you, as it must afford some pleasing consolation, when reflecting upon the loss of a worthy Son.

I am,

Sir,

With very great esteem,

Your Most Obdt. Servt.

George Washington

The Stewart at Stony Point Medal:

Obverse: A near mirror-image of the medal given to Anthony Wayne. The goddess America or Columbia holds her oval shield at her feet with one hand and extends a large palm frond with her other, while her traditional alligator companion curls at her feet. Stewart wears a sword and reaches out to accept the palm of victory at left. JOANNI STEWART COHORTIS PRAEFECTO translates as "John Stewart, Leader of the Unit." COMITIA AMERICANA appears in the exergue.

Reverse: One of the more inspired designs of the series, it is a pity this reverse is so rarely encountered. Stewart rushes to the right, his sword drawn, leading an infantry charge over abattis (felled logs, essentially) and fallen men. Streams of soldiers run up a fantasy depiction of the Stony Point fortification at the rear foreground, with the Hudson River and several ships on the horizon. STONEY-POINT OPPUGNATUM translates as "Stony Point Attacked," with the date XV JUL. MDCCLXXIX in the exergue.

Supremely Important John Stewart at Stony Point Obverse Cliché

The Rarest Comitia Americana Medal in Original Form



2028

1779 John Stewart at Stony Point obverse cliché. As Betts-567. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Nicolas-Marie Gatteaux. 45.8 x 46.0 mm, 244.0 grains. 1.8 - 2.1 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain beveled edge, carefully trimmed at the time of production. Backed with thick dark laid paper, chipped away at lower left. An extremely attractive impression from the original dies of this rarest Comitia Americana medal. A bit soft on the highest points of the design, including the goddess America's breast and temple and Stewart's shoulder, but well detailed everywhere else. Lustrous silver gray with pale blue toning and a choice original appearance, free of flaws or distractions. Spalling is seen in the field below the goddess's outstretched forearm, in the exergue beneath AMER, and on the exergual line below TT of GATTEAUX.

We know of two silver strikes of the medal produced for John Stewart (whose name sometimes appears spelled Steward). As noted in the Adams and Bentley book, they are in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. A single bronze specimen exists in private hands. Adams and Bentley lists two clichés, both of the obverse: this piece, and an example in the Massachusetts Historical Society, both of which are illustrated in *Comitia Americana*. We can add another, now in the National Numismatic Collection at the Smithsonian Institution, previously in Stack's ALTO II sale of October 1991 as lot 1399 but with a long earlier provenance: Frossard's sale of the Isaac F. Wood Collection, February 1884, lot 1450; the Chapman brothers' Isaac F. Wood Collection sale, July 1894, lot 578; New Netherlands' 40th sale, May 1953, lot 511. That brings the total to three, which happens to be the same number of "shells" included in lot 22 of

the 1933 Senter sale; presumably that trio was some combination of clichés and electrotype? Bushnell bought two electrotype shells from Strobridge's sale of June 1863, lot 1167. Perhaps those two shells and one of these splashers ended up in Senter's exceptional holding.

Stewart's original silver medal was last described in the possession of the family in 1897. It may still survive. Several institutions hold only electrotype or crude casts. The exceptionally crude cast in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation collection, whose distinctiveness comes from its innate flaws rather than the die state of the medal that produced it, was purchased on a Baltimore bourse floor by your cataloger for a princely two-digit sum before its donation to CWF's cabinet.

This was the only Stewart in any form in the John J. Ford, Jr. holdings, and it is likewise the only Stewart in the Adams Collection. LaRiviere never owned a Stewart in any form, nor did W.W.C. Wilson. Bushnell acquired electrotype shells from Strobridge's June 1863 sale, lot 1167, indicating how early specialist collectors knew they could give up on hopes of acquiring a genuine example. Never copied by the Philadelphia Mint and never restruck in Paris, the John Stewart medal is the singular classic rarity of the Comitia Americana series. This is the only example of this medal in any form sold since the one in the Smithsonian last transacted in 1991.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 202. Earlier, from the Wayte Raymond estate.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

BONHOMME RICHARD VS. HMS SERAPIS

The Action:

John Paul Jones, then more commonly called "Paul Jones," was considered a pirate by the British. Leading a small flotilla of French ships (accompanied by one American-built vessel), Jones was the captain of the *Bonhomme Richard*, named "Poor Richard" in honor of every Frenchman's favorite American, Benjamin Franklin. Beginning in early 1778, Jones and his sailors kept pressure on British shipping and naval vessels from a base in the Brittany port of L'Orient. A native of Scotland and a veteran of the Royal Navy, Jones knew the waters of the British Isles well, ably sneaking up on British prizes despite typically being outgunned.

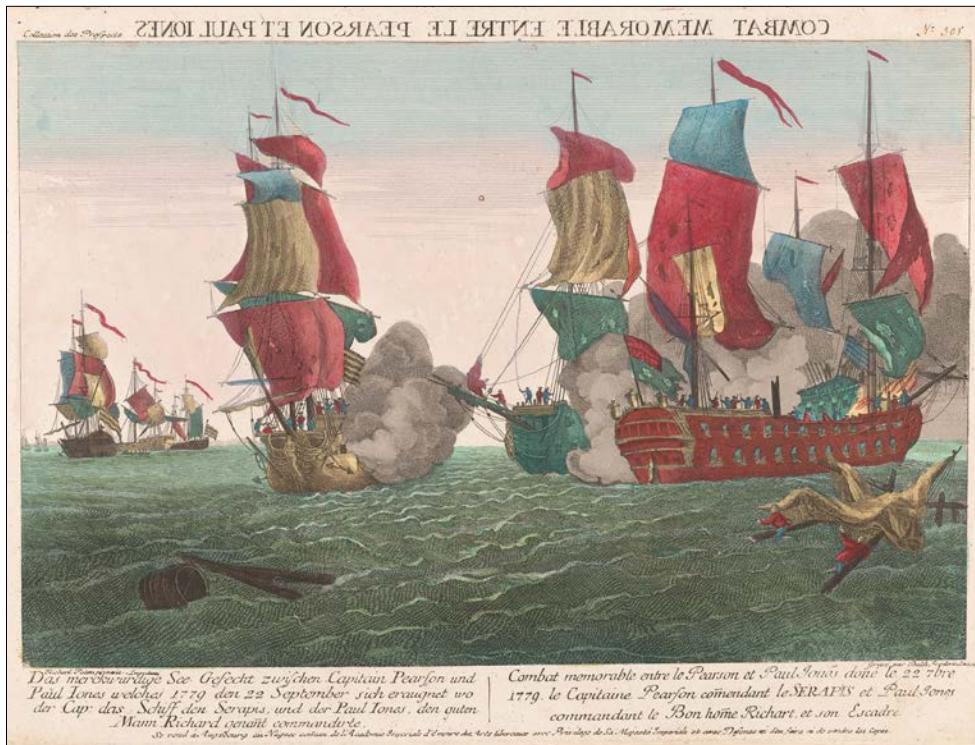
As American allies France and Spain made their way toward Great Britain with the Armada of 1779, John Paul Jones and his coterie of ships served as a diversion, making their way to the Irish coast. His feint did not end at, or even threaten, Ireland, but instead made its way overtop of Scotland, into the North Sea, and down the east coast of England.

Once there, Jones basically got lucky, running into a substantial convoy of British trading vessels. The British fifth-rate warship *HMS Serapis* served watch over the 41 ships. Stacked with 44 guns, she was a bit stronger than the longer 42-gun *Bonhomme Richard*, which had the benefit of the 36-gun *Alliance* as backup. The *Serapis* was accompanied by a much smaller vessel, the 22-gun *Countess of Scarborough*, giving the overall advantage to Jones' squadron. The engagement began on the evening of September 23, with the *Alliance* meeting the *Countess of Scarborough* while Jones' *Bonhomme Richard* took on the *Serapis*.

John Paul Jones brought his ship close enough to the *Serapis* to literally tangle the two ships, followed by an unusually brutal series of close broadsides, grenade drops, and man-to-man mayhem. With American sailors tossing incendiary devices from the rigging of the *Bonhomme Richard* into the hold of the *Serapis* while the British unleashed their guns, both ships were quickly injured and aflame. Both sides tried to board the other vessel. Both failed. When Captain Richard Pearson hollered to Jones and demanded his surrender, Jones yelled back the words that would make him a legend: "Sir, I have not yet begun to fight!"

The terrifying damage to the *Serapis*, along with the loss of half her crew, forced Pearson to surrender before midnight. The Americans, though victorious, had lost nearly 150 men killed and wounded, and Jones' devastated flagship would sink the next day. Fortunately, Jones was able to capture both the *Serapis* and the *Countess of Scarborough*, limp them to the Dutch port of Texel, and live to fight another day.

Word of Jones' victory in English waters spread like wildfire across Europe, making him an instant hero in France. On October 3, 1779, Jones wrote Benjamin Franklin, then in Paris, a long letter describing the battle. Franklin wrote back on October 15, acknowledging Jones' concerns about the behavior of Captain Pierre Landais of the *Alliance*. A court martial ensued over Landais' conduct, and the drama — along with Jones' generally unpleasant personality — cast a shadow over the action. Congress would not vote Jones a medal for his taking of the *Serapis* until 1787.



Left: Engraving of the engagement of the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis* by Balthasar Friedrich Leizelt after a painting by Richard Paton. Above: Engraved portrait of John Paul Jones. (Library of Congress)

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

The Resolution:

Resolved Unanimously That a medal of gold be struck and presented to the Chevalier John Paul Jones in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that Officer in the command of a squadron of french and American ships under the flag and commission of the United States off the coast of England Great Britain in the late war; And that the Honorable Mr Jefferson Minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Versailles have the same executed with the proper devices.

Resolved-That a letter be written to his Most Christian Majesty informing him that the United States in Congress Assembled have bestowed upon the Chevalier John Paul Jones this medal as well in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation which his Majesty has been pleased to confer upon that Officer as from a sense of his merit; And that as it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, it would be acceptable to Congress that his Majesty would be pleased to permit him to embark with his fleets of evolution; convinced that he can no where else so well acquire that knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful.

— Continental Congress Resolution of October 16, 1787

The Acquisition:

As might be imagined of a Scottish fellow who made his living acting like a pirate on the high seas, Jones was a bit of a tough customer, a pest who thought highly of himself, wrote very long letters very frequently, and was generally rather disagreeable. It's sort of a miracle Congress ever voted him a medal, even almost a decade after his most famous maritime escapade.

John Jay wrote to Thomas Jefferson on October 24, 1787, with a parcel of documents, including "A certified Copy of an act of the 16 Octr. Inst: directing you to have a Medal struck in honor of Chevalier Jones, and a copy of a Letter to his most Christian Majesty of the same Date on the same Subject." By this time, Jefferson had been in Paris for three years, serving as the Minister Plenipotentiary, and he had already been working on Comitia Americana medals for a few years. Jefferson appears to have met Jones for the first time about December 1787, when Jones wrote Jefferson in a private letter advising him that he had just arrived in Paris and asked that Jefferson keep his arrival a secret. Jones asked Jefferson to come to apartment 1 of the Hotel de Beauvais, Rue des Vieux Augustines, and ask for "the gentleman just arrived." Jones needed Jefferson's help to free his prizes from the battle with the *Serapis*, which had been taken to a Danish port and impounded. Because of a century-old treaty with England, the Danes could not pay off Jones for his captured vessels but were bound to return them to the English. Jones wanted his medal, but much more than that, he wanted Jefferson's help in getting paid.

Jones does not appear to have brought up his medal to Jefferson for almost a year, until he wrote a letter "on Board the Wolodimer before Oczacoff," afloat with Russia's Black Sea Fleet near the modern Ukrainian coast. Jones instructed Jefferson:

I shall want four Gold Medals as soon as the Dies are finished. I must present one to the United States, another to the King of France, and I cannot do less than offer one to the Empress. As you will keep the Dies for me, it is my intention to have some more Gold Medals struck; therefore I beg you, in the mean time not to permit the striking of a single Silver or Copper Medal.

Jones also sent information that would helpful in the design of the medal.

I send inclosed an Extract of my Journal on my Expedition from France to Holland in the Year 1779, for the Information of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres. I trust at the same time more to your Judgement than to theirs. There is a Medalist who executed three Medals for me in Wax. One of them is the Battle between the Bon-homme-Richard and the Serapis. The Position of the two Ships is not much amiss, but the accessory figures are much too near the principal Objects; and he has placed them to windward instead of being, as they really were, to Leeward of the Bon-Homme-Richard and Serapis. I do not at this moment recollect the Medallist's Name; but he lives on the 3d or 4th Stage at a Marble Cutters, almost opposite, but a Little higher than your former House, Cul de Sac Rue Taitebout and may be easily found. It would be of use to see the medal he has made, although it is by no means to be Copied.

Jean-Martin Renaud's wax medallion of the battle inspired a print that is illustrated in Volume 16 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, which shows that Renaud's work most certainly informed Dupré's reverse design without serving as a direct source to copy. As the editors of the Jefferson Papers note, "Jones' most recent biographer, Samuel Eliot Morison, regards the reverse of the Dupré medal as the most accurate visual depiction of the battle, but points out that Renaud's rendition of the scene is nevertheless more accurate in one respect: it correctly shows the *Serapis* at anchor."

By this point, Jean-Antoine Houdon's bust of Jones had been completed; it would make a sufficient model for the obverse. Jones' wrote Jefferson from St. Petersburg in January 1789 with more autobiographical information that the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres would find useful in determining the designs and legends. Jefferson received the completed design information from the Academy soon thereafter, and sent what he received off to Augustin Dupré on February 13, 1789, in a letter that also included the inscriptions for the Morgan at Cowpens medal. Jefferson suggested that the dies should be capable of striking 350 of each medal in gold, silver, or copper. While the mintage of the Morgan medal was far below that, the original dies of the Jones' medal survived in working condition well into the 19th century and may have made ten times that figure! Jefferson asked Dupré for "les épreuves en étain au fin du mois de mars prochain" — proofs (i.e. clichés or splashes) in tin at the end of March.

Jefferson paid Augustin Dupré for the dies of the medal on March 2 and updated Jones on March 23.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

Having been enabled to carry into execution the orders for the Medals, I have contracted with workmen for them, and they are all in hand. Yours is to be executed by Dupré, who is I think the best among them; and it will be done in the course of the summer. My instructions as to these medals are general, to wit; I am to deliver one of gold or silver (as the case may be) to the person who is the subject; to send one of silver to every sovereign and one of copper to every university of Europe (Gr. Britain excepted) 200 copies to Congress and one a piece to La Fayette, Rochambeau, Destaing, and Degrasse. I am at liberty to deliver no others, not even at the orders and expense of the persons who are the subjects of the medals. But your wish will be fulfilled as to the Empress, because I shall send her a suite of the whole medals under the general order.

Jefferson left for the United States in September 1789, his work on this medal finished except for the product's receipt and delivery. Dupré took a while to finish his work and delivered it to William Short, Jefferson's former assistant who picked up where he left off. On December 15, Short wrote to John Jay "the medal executed here for Commodore P. Jones, by order of Congress, has lately been received by me and Mr. Grand has paid the Artist its amount agreeable to the contract with Mr. Jefferson, out of the money deposited in his hands for that purpose."

Short had a silver medal struck for Jefferson — probably to add to the set presented to President Washington — and sent it to him on August 22, 1790. "I send by the bearer your silver medal of P. Jones which you desired should be made for you. I omitted sending it with your furniture. It has been a long time since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you." Jefferson, who also had a set of splashes in his collection of Monticello, reminded Short of his need for appropriate clichés from the Jones medal on January 24, 1791: "I must pray you to keep in mind and execute the commissions for the clock (which must come entirely by water from Paris to this place) and two épreuves d'étais of P. Jones's medal." Short finally sent them in June, telling Jefferson "You will receive by M. Kellerman who goes to join M. Ternant at Rochefort the tin proofs of P. Jones's medal which you desired."

The Presentation:

While some Comitia Americana medals were presented with florid letters, we have little idea what words accompanied the delivery of Jones' congressional prize. William Short wrote to Thomas Jefferson

from Paris on May 9, 1790, and mentioned near the end of a long letter "P. Jones has this moment arrived here from London. It is from him I get the intelligence of the press of seamen, which I have interlined above, after having written my letter. I have delivered him his medal."

From there, the medal disappears into history. It was not present when his estate was sold — though Gouverneur Morris, his executor, purchased his Society of the Cincinnati eagle badge, his French Order of Merit, and two swords.

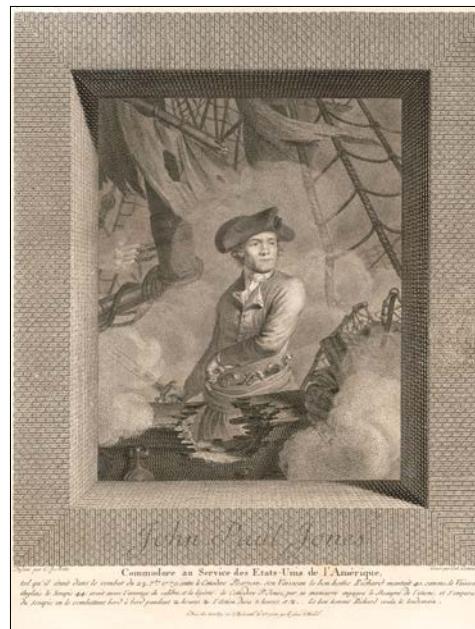
The dies survived in the Paris Mint, producing several generations of restrikes, until they were delivered to the Philadelphia Mint in 1905. In 1947, they were used to produce a replacement gold medal, which is currently on display in John Paul Jones' crypt beneath the United States Naval Academy chapel in Annapolis.

The John Paul Jones Medal:

Obverse: A simple design based on Jean-Antoine Houdon's majestic bust of Jones, in military attire and epaulets, his hair neatly tied in a queue. Jones faces right, framed by the legend JOANNI PAVLO JONES CLASSIS PRAEFFECTO or "John Paul Jones, commander of the fleet. COMITIA AMERICANA appears below, and Dupré signed the bust truncation boldly Dupré F.

Reverse: We cannot improve upon this description from the January 1904 issue of the *American Journal of Numismatics*. "The combat with the Serapis. The ships are fighting side by side, the British frigate in the foreground under sail to the right; her broadside, though that farthest from her enemy, is shown as badly injured. The Bon Homme Richard, with her bow in the opposite direction, is largely concealed by her adversary, and of her masts only the foremast appears, the topsails backed. The smoke of battle rising between the vessels, floats to the left; two sailors are in the sea clinging to a spar, and another British ship is in the distance. Legend, above, HOSTIVUM NAVIBVS CAPTIS AVT FVGATIS. In the exergue in three lines, the last separated by a rule from those above, AD ORAM SCOTIAE XXIII. SEPT. | M. D. CC LXXVIII | DVPRE. F. (The ships of the enemy captured or put to flight, off the shore of Scotland, Sept. 23, 1779.)"

While the Academy of Inscriptions and Belle-Lettres typically did good work, they failed on this reverse: the battle took place off the shore of England, roughly 175 miles south of the Scottish border.



Engraved portrait of John Paul Jones.
(Library of Congress)

Historic Silver Original John Paul Jones Medal Rarity

Perhaps Five In Private Hands

The W.W.C. Wilson Specimen



(Photo Enlarged)

2029

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1531.2 grains. 4.6 - 4.8 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, engraved THEODORE DELACROIX. ROSE LESTIBOUDOIS MARIES LE 1ER FEVRIER 1845. Perhaps once mounted at 12:00. Rich gray surfaces show an abundance of attractive and ancient toning, yielding blue, violet, rose and gold over the reflective fields. The reverse toning is somewhat banded, with pastel blue at the upper right, pale gold across the center, and deeper blue and gold at the lower left. The surfaces show a fair bit of handling, including ancient hairlines, some vertical pin scratches in the right obverse field, and a motley assortment of other contact marks and nicks. The rims are fairly clean but for a bruise near 7:30 on the obverse, beneath the bust truncation. The design elements are in full relief and well detailed. The die state is early, with the tiny spalling marks or flaws described by Adams and Bentley, and the rims show no evidence of crumbling. The edge has been finely engraved in typical all-capital letterforms of the 1840s era. A circle at 12:00 on the edge suggests a former mount, but no raised solder nor rim filing is seen in the area.

Felicite Rose Lestiboudois married Louis Theodore Delacroix of 59 Rue Saint-Honore, Paris, on February 1, 1845. The address is just a few hundred meters from the Louvre, a well-off neighborhood then and now. In the *Gazette des Tribunaux* of Paris, on October 19, 1847, Mr. Delacroix was listed as one of the founding principals in a new company to refine and sell animal oils. Did his connection to the whaling industry make a maritime-oriented medal an apropos wedding gift? Was the presenter somehow acquainted with Captain

Jones, who died in Paris in 1792? The scenic route from Delacroix's home, across the Pont Neuf to the Left Bank, to the apartment where Jones died crosses the Quai de Conti, along the Seine, just a block from the Monnaie de Paris, where this medal was struck.

Dupré's design for the John Paul Jones medal prefigured later American naval medals, particularly those for the War of 1812. With an obverse portrait, reverse battle scene, and reverse exergual description of the action, Dupré had both followed an 18th century pattern and created a 19th century American template. As the only naval medal in the Comitia Americana series, the Jones medal has always seen especial demand with collectors. Though originals in bronze are numerous enough to satisfy most advanced collectors, very few ever have a chance to own a silver one.

The Adams-Bentley census counted just four of these in private hands: this piece, last sold at auction in 1925; the Ford specimen, sold in 2005 and resold in 2012; and two others in private collections. We know of one other held privately. Institutional holdings include the Swan Historical Foundation (Washington Crossing State Park), British Museum, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and Monticello. With a total census of fewer than 10 pieces known, a Jones medal in silver is Low Rarity 7 overall and High Rarity 7 in private hands. It has been almost a century since this one was offered at public auction.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John J. Ford, Jr., privately, July 1993. Earlier, from Wayte Raymond's sale of the W.W.C. Wilson Collection, Part I, November 1925, lot 804; Wayte Raymond Estate.

Superlative Original Copper John Paul Jones Medal



2030

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.0 mm, 1475.0 grains. 4.5 - 5.0 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge. A medal of superlative quality, far exceeding the typical state of preservation for an original example of this Dupré masterwork. Lustrous light brown with reflective fields, showcasing violet and rose toning with gold and orange highlights around the design elements where mint color was last to fade. The fields are impressively mirrored and flashy, and the design elements

stand out in spectacular relief. The rims and edges are clean, and no significant issues are noted, just a single very minor speck under NN of JOANNI. The die state is very early, with the state of the spalling pits equivalent to the silver specimen in this collection. A short wire rim is present atop the reverse, but the rims show no filing to remove either the "fin" or the die rust and breaks that appear on later specimens. About as choice as any example of this medal we've ever encountered, a specimen of unsurpassable quality.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson.

Lovely Original Copper John Paul Jones Medal



2031

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.2 mm, 1336.2 grains. 3.8 - 4.0 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge, witness line or collar mark near 3:00 relative to the obverse. A really lovely example, with warm luster over choice medium brown surfaces. Not quite as reflective as the previous lot, but equally well preserved, with no substantial marks and exacting detail brought up on both sides. A vertically oriented linear struck-through depression is noted left of the forward mast of the *Bonhomme Richard* on the reverse. Somewhat later die state

than the previous lot, with much heavier crumbling at A of PAVLO. The reverse rims were carefully filed at their extremities at the time of striking, though a hint of a wire rim remains near 3:00. The base of the obverse also shows subtle rim filing. A tiny speck is noted in the reverse exergue above RA or ORAM. An original Jones medal this nice is a rare item, the current presentation notwithstanding. Years often pass between offerings of examples of similar quality.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craigie.

Another Original Copper John Paul Jones Medal



2032

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.2 mm, 1369.6 grains. 3.6 - 4.4 mm thick. Mint State. Plain concave edge, witness lines or collar marks near 11:00 and 4:30 relative to the obverse. A handsome piece, with lightly reflective fields showing subtle blue and gold highlights against medium brown surfaces. Some scattered marks are noted, none serious, though we note a jogging mark parallel to the chin and a horizontal nick in midfield below the first E of PRAEFCITO. Pleasing and

original, with some old dust clinging to the peripheries of the design elements. The rims on both sides have been delicately filed around nearly the entire circumference, as issued. Not the earliest die state, but certainly not the latest among plain edge issues either, with a fair amount of spalling noted around PA of PAVLO. This is nice enough to be a collection highlight in an advanced Comitia Americana cabinet.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Leonard Finn, December 1983.



The *Bonhomme Richard* by F. Muller.

Early Die State John Paul Jones Medal

Copper, Original Dies



2033

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.2 mm, 1461.0 grains. 3.6 - 4.4 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, ridge on edge at 12:00. A blend of medium milk chocolate brown and mottled lighter tan, the latter shade mostly around devices and at peripheries, mixes beautifully across the lightly reflective surfaces. Despite some light handling, good luster remains. Trivial marks are seen here and there, none serious, and some harmless surface verdigris is seen beneath JONES. The devices are impeccably detailed. The die state is very early, with just traces of spalling at A of PAVLO. Along the edge in several places (above 3:00 and 9:00 relative to the obverse), flecks of gold are struck into the surface. A few similar specks are seen on the reverse: under I of HOSTIVM, and under V and A of FVGATIS. Two lint marks are seen on the reverse, beneath VG of FVGATIS and beneath the period that follows that word. This is a very, very early die state.

There are clearly several different collars that were used on the Jones medal. The same could be said for the other Comitia Americana medals. As edges are tough to photograph, difficult to describe,

and have no long record of being illustrated or described in the literature, one wonders even how to begin. On this piece, clearly struck from a very early die state, the collar is visibly concave but also uneven, with ridges and edge breaks and a somewhat lumpy texture. This is similar to other very early die state bronze medals (compare the original Morgan medals, for instance); it seems that this style of collar was the one used for the earliest pieces. Other collars show concavity along with witness lines that indicate multi-part collars. Later collars produced more square rims. The Jones medals are apparently unique among the Comitia Americana medals in that early strikes are occasionally found mounted at 12:00, for wearing and display. While this piece shows absolutely no evidence of mounting (or mount removal), the edge is built up at 12:00 — an as-struck feature to make placement of a mount easier.

For those who value an early place on the time continuum over which Comitia Americana medals were struck, this fine bronze was produced very early in that sequence, making it particularly scarce and important.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.

Original Copper John Paul Jones Medal Mounted for Suspension



2034

1779 John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.3 mm, (70.6 mm to top of mount), 1374.4 grains. 3.9 - 4.2 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, later brass mount and jump ring affixed at 12:00. A fairly early striking, with the typical reflective surface and textured edge of an early piece, but some scattered tiny spalling pits not seen on the very earliest strikes. The surfaces are lustrous light brown with darker toning around the design elements, flashy and very attractive. A dull

scrape is seen on Jones's cheek, and a few short, shallow scratches are barely visible in the right obverse field, but the preservation and eye appeal are both excellent. A curved lint mark above V in PAVLO and two gold specks, one below J of JOANNI and the other at the center of M in COMITIA, suggest an early spot on the striking continuum. The hanger is not a standard military issue of either French or American origin, and use can only be speculated. This is a fascinating and attractive example of this important historical type.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Jim King, August 1996.



Portraits of Revolutionary War American naval officers John Paul Jones, Alexander Murray, Richard Dale, John Barry Edward Preble, and Nicholas Biddle surrounding a vignette of the battle between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*.

(By Nathaniel Currier. Library of Congress)

Fascinating John Paul Jones Obverse Trial



2035

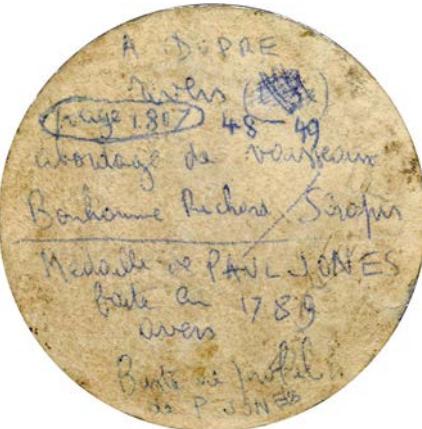
1779 John Paul Jones obverse trial. As Betts-568. Silver over white metal (?). Original. Paris Mint or workshop of Augustin Dupré. 57.1 mm, 543.2 grains. 1.5 - 2.4 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Irregular edge. A most unusual piece, clearly struck when Dupré's original obverse was in a very early die state, but not a typical cliché or splasher struck in heat-softened tin. The weight and sonority preclude a pure silver composition, but the luster and surface texture likewise rule out the typical tin or pewter composition of a trial strike of this era. The planchet is lightweight enough that the blank reverse was embossed into the depths of the high relief portrait, similar to a medieval bracteate. The detail is superb, and the surfaces betray no hints of cladding or undermetal, as might be found on Sheffield plate or something similar. Presumably some sort of Sheffield-style fusion was used to create this piece, which resembles a silver medal in every evident way. The fields are hairlined from polishing (as might be done to a silver object) and the center of the back is filled with red sealing wax (as often found on a more typical cliché). A fascinating piece,

clearly produced in the 18th century when these dies were fairly new, and unlike any other Jones trial we have seen. The only other Jones obverse trial we know of in private hands is the traditional tin cliché from our 2008 Minot Collection sale that reappeared in our August 2012 ANA sale. Thomas Elder offered an obverse cliché in pewter (the same piece?) in his 84th sale, October 1913, lot 866. A set of Jones clichés was offered in New Netherlands' 36th sale, January 1952, as part of lot 451, along with an original in bronze. That set, from the "property of a New York Collector" is unseen since. Another interesting Jones obverse cliché, trimmed to a neat octagon, is in the collection of the American Philosophical Society, and a bronze hub trial of the Jones portrait is in the collection of the Boston Public Library. The Ford sales included only a single Jones cliché, a reverse.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired in Philadelphia, August 2011.

Important John Paul Jones Reverse Cliché



2036

1779 John Paul Jones reverse cliché. As Betts-568. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 57.2 mm, 782.2 grains. 1.8 - 3.2 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain trimmed edge. Paper backed, with fiber covering the entirety of the blank back. A handsome and stout splasher, boldly struck from an early state of Dupré's original die. Silver gray with smooth lustrous surfaces and some hints of pale blue toning. Some marks are seen, along with trivial hairlines and a natural pit near 12:00 at the rim. A few raised specks hidden among the sails do not affect the positive visual appeal. Some striations are present in the exergue, as struck.

The back is covered with thick paper, now bearing a modern pen inscription in French (perhaps written over an older pencil inscription). This is both higher grade and better preserved than the Ford reverse cliché, the only other reverse Jones cliché known to us. An important piece, acquired privately and apparently never before offered at public auction.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from William Goetz. Earlier, from a French fixed price list.



2037

1779 (1845-1860) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Copper. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 56.9 mm, 1323.0 grains. 3.5 - 4.0 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Square edge marked with pointing hand and CUIVRE at 6:00. Choice lustrous chocolate brown with beautiful iridescence in the lightly reflective fields and some hints of mint color around devices. Boldly detailed from multiple strikes, which have left some vestiges of doubling around

peripheral elements. More spalling (A.K.A. die rust) is seen on this restrike than on originals with unmarked edges, making this a useful comparison piece in addition to a wholesome way to represent the brilliant artistry of Dupré's original dies. Original die restrikes like this are relatively common but are infrequently found so choice.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s 86th sale, August 2016, lot 335.

Rare John Paul Jones from “Gunmetal” U.S. Mint Dies



2038

1779 (ca. 1863-68) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568, Julian NA-1. Copper. Bell metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 55.6 mm, 1599.6 grains. 5.1 - 5.5 mm thick.

About Uncirculated. Square plain edge. A rare example of the first type of John Paul Jones medal struck on American soil, one of just 50 believed to have been produced from the “gunmetal” (actually bell metal) dies. 25 were struck in 1863, and a further 25 were struck in 1868. These dies were made from an early die state original, with some of the usual spalling seen around A of PAVLO and other areas. Raised parallel die finish or lapping lines are seen behind the bust, removing the spalling pits from above Jones’ hair queue. The die is broken, with a substantial cud above 9:00 on the obverse and two bigger breaks at 9:00 and 10:00 on the reverse. There is a slightly earlier die state with the cud at 9:00 but no cud at 10:00, as seen on a specimen sold by Stack’s in 2008. It is tempting to assign the unbroken state of these fragile dies to 1863 and the broken state to 1868, but it seems more likely that the dies broke early, as those with these substantial cuds seem far more numerous than those without. As expected from a medal with a mintage of just 50 pieces, any example from these dies is highly elusive, even more so than plain edge originals.

This example shows some handling, with scattered minor contact marks, some light obverse rim nicks, another just right of 6:00 on the reverse, and the merest cabinet friction on the high relief devices. The surfaces are a pleasant medium brown with tan highlights, quite different from the typical deep mahogany surfaces found on the 1870s-80s U.S. Mint copy die productions, but also different than the usually reflective Paris Mint strikes. A little area of toning is present behind the head under JONES.

Unlike those made from the copy dies about 1875 (see next lot), this issue includes the DUPRE F signature under the bust, as well as most features of the original dies. While Julian describes Philadelphia Mint strikes as distinguishable by the lack of this signature, this is not the case with the Philadelphia Mint bell-metal die strikes. Were the Julian book to ever be redone, these two iterations of the Jones medal should be listed as separate varieties.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, January 2017.

Very Scarce U.S. Mint John Paul Jones From Copy Dies
Just 68 Struck



2039

1779 (ca. 1875-1904) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568, Julian NA-1. Copper. U.S. Mint copy dies. Philadelphia Mint. 57.2 mm, 1244.4 grains. 3.7 - 4.3 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Square plain edge. Fully and deeply reflective, with the fine orange peel surface of a late 19th century U.S. Mint Proof coin and frosted cameo texture on the portrait. The toning is deep chocolate with some lighter tan highlights, lending exquisite visual appeal. Aside from a tiny rim nick at 6:00 on the obverse, this piece is an ideally preserved gem.

These dies, made by William Barber before 1875, lift the central devices from a Paris Mint original but show U.S. Mint typography in the legends. The new lettering, as well as the distinctive surface and the lack of DUPRE under the bust, make this variety very easy to discern from others. Just 68 medals were struck from these dies between 1875 and 1904.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, December 2016. Earlier, from the collection of the Naval Historical Foundation.



2040

1779 (ca. 1875-1904) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568, Julian NA-1. Copper. U.S. Mint copy dies. Philadelphia Mint. 57.0 mm, 1591.2 grains. 5.1 - 5.5 mm thick. Mint State. Square plain edge. Another example from the U.S. Mint copy dies of the last quarter of the 19th century, this one with the typical deep mahogany bronzing

associated with late 19th century U.S. Mint medals. The surfaces are smooth and attractive, though not reflective like those seen on the previous piece. Some light surface dirt is present, but no problems. A lovely example.

From the John W. Adams Collection.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



2041

1779 (ca. 1860-1879) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Silver. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 57.1 mm, 1258.6 grains. 2.9 - 3.2 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Square edge marked with bee and ARGENT at 6:00. Very deep gray on the obverse with gently mottled accents of blue and gold and a faint old fingerprint in the right field. The highest points of the relief are dull silver gray. The reverse is slightly lighter in overall tone, this being the side apparently protected for a long time in an old cabinet. Pearlescent silver gray is highlighted by mottled rose, blue and soft gold in the fields. Both sides are deeply prooflike and though there are some faint hairlines and other trivial handling marks, the eye appeal is lovely. Slight double striking is revealed by fine outlines at COMITIA, in

particular, and to a less visible degree on other peripheral details. Light spalling on the rims and in the fields in various places, as one would expect from these original dies in this later state, the last one to maintain the lovely prooflike finish that would have been seen on the original impressions. The post-1880 impressions are from these dies after they underwent a sandblasting process that considerably altered the appearance of the struck medals. All silver John Paul Jones medals are desirable, but those that most closely match the aesthetic of the earliest pieces, as seen here, are enthusiastically embraced by collectors.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Rossa and Tannenbaum, March 1994.



2042

1779 (After 1880) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Silver. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 56.3 mm, 1327.8 grains. 3.1 - 3.7 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Square edge marked with cornucopia and ARGENT at 6:00. Deep silver gray with iridescent blue-green, gold, and rose highlights over matte surfaces. The rims have been filed at the time of production, from 9:00 to 3:00 on the obverse and around the entire periphery on the reverse. While the dies look somewhat different than they did in earlier versions, enough of the unique blemishes survived sandblasting to state with

certainty that this is struck from the original dies: witness the raised spalling pit below the stop after FVGATIS, another below V of HOSTIVM, and the raised pit in Jones' hair low below his ear. Some scattered surface marks are seen on both sides, mostly superficial lines and handling, though we note a shallow mark above Jones' hair queue. These later matte strikes are very scarce, and any silver Jones is an elusive property.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.



2043

1779 (After 1880) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Silver. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1362.4 grains. 3.1 - 3.7 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Square edge marked with cornucopia and ARGENT at 6:00. Iridescent blue, peach, and pale gold toning graces matte medium silver gray surfaces. An attractive

piece, though we note a rim bruise at 4:00 on the obverse and several smaller rim nicks on both sides, most notably at 8:00 on the obverse.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Spink's sale of June 1989, lot 406.



2044

1779 (After 1880) John Paul Jones medal. Betts-568. Silver. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1313.6 grains. 3.4 - 3.7 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Square edge marked with

cornucopia and ARGENT at 3:00. A final attractive matte finish silver restrike, with pleasing pale blue and dusky rose toning on both sides. Only light evidence of handling is seen.

From the John W. Adams Collection.



2045

1905 John Paul Jones ANS medal. **Baxter-128, Smedley-67.** Silver. Paris Mint. 80.2 x 60.1 mm. 2475.6 grains. **Choice About Uncirculated.** Edge marked with cornucopia and ARGENT at 3:00. A classic historical piece, with artwork by Victor David Brenner, produced when Jones' mortal remains returned from France for permanent interment in Annapolis. Lustrous silver gray with

beautiful blue and maroon-rose toning. An exceptional specimen of this popular rarity, one of a mintage of just 100 pieces, struck in Paris on behalf of the American Numismatic Society.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s 77th sale, June 2007, lot 546. Earlier, from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s 61st sale, November 1996, lot 387; Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s 67th sale, June 2000, lot 333.



Officers and sailors escort the mortal remains of John Paul Jones in Annapolis, Maryland.
(Library of Congress)

THE BATTLE OF PAULUS HOOK

The Action:

The question “what does Robert E. Lee’s father have to do with Jersey City, New Jersey?” may be answered succinctly: the Battle of Paulus Hook, a small action of the Revolutionary War that took place on August 19, 1779.

Henry Lee III was a Virginia aristocrat, a wealthy planter whose horseback swashbuckling in command of his cavalry unit earned him the nickname Light-Horse Harry Lee. His cousin was Richard Henry Lee, the statesman who initially proposed a motion for independence in the Continental Congress. His son was Robert E. Lee. Light-Horse Harry himself would later serve Virginia as governor (1791-1794) and member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

When the Revolution began, Lee was commanding a troop of Virginia dragoons. Serving in the Philadelphia campaign in 1777, their quickness and horsemanship became famous. In the spring of 1778, Lee was promoted to major and given his own unique fighting force: Lee’s Legion, a mobile body of cavalry and infantry that worked independently as security, reconnaissance, and skirmishers where speed and spontaneity were ultimate advantages. Lee flourished in the command, and while his raids and actions in the Southern Campaigns gave him a lasting military legacy, his Congressional medal came from an attack on a British position in the shadow of occupied New York City.

Little was happening militarily in the Northern Theatre by the summer of 1779. The small battle at Stony Point that June was taken as a great victory in the absence of something more significant. The naval expedition against Penobscot, Maine in July was an abject disaster. Washington was encamped at West Point, watching the British in New York from the north. Smaller bodies of troops watched their positions from New Jersey, to the south and west. Perhaps out of boredom, or perhaps borne of a hope that incursions against local militia and patriots would cease, Light-Horse Harry Lee decided to put his independent body of roughly 300 men to use with a nighttime raid against one of British New York’s perimeter defenses: a fort on the peninsula overlooking New York Harbor called Paulus Hook in modern day downtown Jersey City.

The 14-mile march south from New Bridge, along the banks of the Hackensack River, included crossing the swampy Meadowlands near modern-day Secaucus. It was 3 AM by the time Lee’s dismounted troops arrived at the landmark Prior’s Mill, today in the middle of a neighborhood in Jersey City. In the next half hour, they moved about a mile toward the fort, forded a flooded canal, overcame the earthwork, and took the fort. There was little opposition in the predawn hours of August 19. The exhausted American forces took 159 prisoners, losing just two dead and three injured, but could not afford to hold the fort with the British Navy able to float in, cannons ready, from the harbor as soon as the sun came up. A hasty retreat was made, returning to their base that afternoon.

The British retook Paulus Hook the day after, leading to accusations that Lee had prepared improperly for his sneak attack. He faced a court martial on September 2, 1779 on eight charges, was acquitted on all eight, and congratulated for his conduct. His good name was cleared within a week’s time.

Lee’s daring exploits were well-received at Congress in Philadelphia, a room full of his friends and fellow equestrian-loving aristocrats, even though the battle was ultimately all but meaningless. It took just a few weeks for Lee to receive one of the greatest honors of the entire war: the sole gold medal awarded by Congress to someone below a General’s rank.

The Resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to his Excellency General Washington, for ordering, with so much wisdom, the late attack on the enemy’s fort and works at Powles Hook.

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to Major General Lord Stirling, for the judicious measures taken by him to forward the enterprize and to secure the retreat of the party.

Resolved, That the thanks of Congress be given to Major Lee, for the remarkable prudence, address and bravery displayed by him on the occasion; and that they approve the humanity shewn in circumstances prompting to severity, as honourable to the arms of the United States, and correspondent to the noble principles on which they were assumed.

Resolved, That Congress entertain a high sense of the discipline, fortitude and spirit manifested by the officers and soldiers under the command of Major Lee, in the march, action and retreat; and while with singular satisfaction they acknowledge the merit of these gallant men, they feel an additional pleasure by considering them as part of an army, in which very many brave officers and soldiers have proved, by their cheerful performance of every duty under every difficulty, that they ardently wish to give the truly glorious examples they now receive.

Resolved, That Congress justly esteem the military caution so happily combined with daring activity by Lieutenants M’Callister and Rudolph, in leading on the forlorn hope.

Resolved, That a brevet and the pay and subsistence of captain be given to Lieutenant McCallister and to Lieutenant Rudolph.

Resolved, That the sum of \$15,000 for every prisoner be put into the hands of Major Lee, to be by him distributed among the Sergeants, Drums Rank File non-commissioned officers and soldiers &c. of his Detachment, in such manner as the Commander in Chief shall direct.

Resolved, That a medal of gold, emblematical of this affair, be struck, under the direction of the Board of Treasury, and presented to Major Lee.

— Continental Congress Resolution of September 24, 1779

HENRY LEE AT PAULUS HOOK

The Acquisition:

The Henry Lee medal is the only Comitia Americana medal to have not been executed in Paris, an anomalous oversight out of character with the high regard in which Lee was held. Benjamin Franklin was first tasked with obtaining six medals authorized by Congress by the beginning of 1780: Washington, Gates, Wayne, De Fleury, Stewart, and Lee. He started work on De Fleury's medal first, saw it to completion, and never attempted another. When he handed the project off to David Humphreys upon the latter's arrival in Paris, Humphreys was never assigned the Lee medal; it had simply been omitted from the list that Robert Morris gave Humphreys in June 1784. Humphreys moved the football a bit, seeing the Gates and Greene medals through to their final production, but left the rest for Jefferson. Despite Jefferson's many connections to Lee — both would serve their native state of Virginia as governor — he never once mentioned Lee's medal while in Paris.

Jefferson wrote a post-mortem on the medal project, called "Jefferson's Notes on the History of the Medals" by the editors of his papers. It was written in early 1794 after he left the office of Secretary of State, and included the only words he ever drafted about the resolution of the Lee medal issue.

After I returned to America, Genl. Lee applied to me for the medal voted him by Congress, which Mr. Morris's list had by mistake omitted, and producing to me the resolution of Congress for the purpose I put it in hand with Wright to be executed in Philadelphia. Wright, as well as I recollect, would not agree to warrant against the quality of the steel. His dies broke after they were executed, so that this matter was not concluded when I left Philada.

The editor of the Jefferson Papers, Professor Julian Boyd, suggested this undated memo could have been written ca. July 1792, when Jefferson turned in his accounting, or "possibly after 31 Dec. 1793 when he left office." The latter is clearly the case. When Jefferson wrote his "Memorandum on State Department Business" on December 31, 1793, a guide to settling his accounts and handing over documents before leaving Philadelphia for the last time as a member of Washington's cabinet, he references the above-cited medal memorandum in the last line: "Medals voted by Congress—of which Govr. Lee's is one. I will prepare and send a special statement of this business, which will require time. I have among my Paris papers some relative to this Subject, which shall be sent with the Statement." The "special statement of this business" is the memo later entitled "Jefferson's Notes on the History of the Medals."

The 1794 date of this memo explains why Jefferson speaks with such finality regarding the Lee medal: the engraver was already dead. Joseph Wright, born in Bordentown, New Jersey and hired to be the first engraver of the United States Mint, was struck dead by Philadelphia's Yellow Fever plague of 1793. On September 11, 1793, Wright's friend Mordecai Wetherill was dispatched from Wright's home with a notification that he was settling his accounts.

Joseph Wright being very ill and not expecting to recover, requested the subscriber to make a memorandum as follows: that the said Joseph Wright had presented an account against

the United States for cutting a medal, amount fifty guineas. Two essays of a quarter dollars, cut by direction of David Rittenhouse, Esqr., and presented to him (broke in hardening) value about 40 guineas.

The parenthetical (broke in hardening) appears to have been misplaced, as it was Wright's dies for the Lee medal that had broken in hardening. Jefferson made mention of this a few months later in his December 31, 1793, after action memo as he left the State Department, listing among unfinished business "Wright's representatives to be paid for engraving the Medal of Govr. Lee and (that being broke in hardening) another to be engraved."

On January 13, 1795, the United States Treasury issued a warrant to Wright's estate for \$233.33, the equivalent to the 50 guineas he billed, for "modeling the likeness and cutting two dies for a medal of Henry Lee Esq."

This leads to the ultimate question regarding the Lee medal: was a gold medal ever produced? A single trial is known from the unbroken obverse and the original reverse; it is in the present sale. The American Philosophical Society holds an obverse cliche made from the unbroken state of the die, and the Massachusetts Historical Society holds cliches of both original dies. Correspondence from employees of the Philadelphia Mint in the 1830s and 1840s suggests that no medal for Lee was ever struck there. Julian cites three letters from the Mint Director that said the medal had not been struck and one that said it, in Julian's verbiage, "had been struck from 'cracked dies,'" though the exact content of that letter is not more fully mentioned.

The Presentation:

Your cataloger's best assessment of the available evidence — and there is quite a bit — is that Lee never received his gold medal, struck from these dies or any other dies. An engraved "medal" at Princeton that purports to be related to Henry Lee is a late 19th century fantasy.

The Henry Lee at Paulus Hook Medal:

Obverse: A portrait of Lee to right in military dress, with a peripheral inscription reading HENRICO LEE LEGIONIS EQUIT. PRAEFECTO or "Henry Lee, officer of the mounted legion." COMITIA AMERICANA appears below. JWRIGHT is signed neatly under the truncation.

Reverse: Two branches of laurel form a peripheral wreath, tied with ribbon and bow at the bottom, with an eight line inscription reading NON OBSTANTIB / FLUMINIBUS VALLIS / ASTUTIA & VIRTUTE BELLICA / PARVA MANU HOSTES VINCIT VICTOSQ / ARMIS HUMANITATE / DEVINXIT / IN MEMPUGN AD PAULUS HOOK / DIE XIX / AUG. MDCCCLXXIX. Loubat's translation offers: "Notwithstanding rivers and ramparts, he conquered, with a handful of men, the enemy by skill and valor, and attacked by his humanity those vanquished by his arms. In commemoration of the battle of Paulus Hook, August 19, 1779."



Henry Lee

The Only Two-Sided Original Henry Lee Medal Extant

A Unique Witness to Both of Wright's 1793 Dies



(Photo Enlarged)

2046

1779 Henry Lee at Paulus Hook medal. Betts-575, Julian MI-5. Pewter. Original dies. Philadelphia Mint. 49.7 x 51.4 mm, 966.2 grains. 3.6 - 3.9 mm thick. Technical Extremely Fine. Irregular uncollared edge. An unattractive medal of singular importance, the only original Henry Lee medal in private hands anywhere and the only one extant that marries both of Joseph Wright's original dies. The surfaces are attractive and glossy leaden gray, free of corrosion or discoloration. The planchet is crude, out of round, and slightly split from striking pressure atop the obverse. The obverse impression is fairly sharp, lacking just the last few letters of AMERICANA and otherwise complete. The portrait's relief is rounded and well realized, the peripheral legends are all legible, and Wright's signature is very sharp. The fields and devices are peppered with marks, most significantly in the upper right obverse field where a series of injuries are found in the space between the profile and the rim above EQUIT. R of HENRICO shows impressions from a circular punch, and a casting pit from when this crude planchet was made has not been completely struck out between the fourth and fifth button of Lee's waistcoat.

The reverse is somewhat softer than the obverse, disadvantaged by its lower relief. The legends are all present, however, somewhat obscured by the variety of nicks and marks but struck up well enough to read every letter (except, perhaps those of DEVINXIT). There are lots of marks and scratches, all small and all old, none of which change the fact that this is the only ownable impression of this die known anywhere on the planet.

The obverse is unbroken, unlike the state seen on the restrikes made from this obverse after 1874. The reverse has many distinctions from William Barber's replacement die, including the fact that the date is rendered in Roman numerals rather than an Arabic 1779. Wright's spacing was well planned enough that his lines are all straight, rather than curved at the ends like Barber's.

Though noted by Alan Stahl in his corpus on Comitia Americana medals in the ANS COAC volume entitled Coinage of the American Confederation Period, most everyone else seems to have missed that James Ross Snowden, writing in 1860, described the original Lee reverse as having an "engraver's error," namely the year 1779 was rendered as MDCLXXIX (1679). On the present piece, crudely struck as it is, the date is quite evidently correct: MDCCCLXXIX. On the only other surviving original reverse impression that your cataloger has ever heard of (namely the one in the Massachusetts Historical Society), the date is just as evidently rendered with the error Snowden described. Michael Hodder may have left this Easter Egg for others to discover when he wrote, describing the piece here offered in the Ford XIV sale, "there are some subtle differences in the inscription that are rewarding when found." Perhaps he meant the differences in line breaks that make this original reverse quite distinctive from the later copies. Or perhaps he understood that this impression, given its different date, is quite literally unique.

There was no original Lee in Bushnell, nor Wilson, nor LaRiviere. There is none at the Smithsonian, or Colonial Williamsburg, or in any cabinet in Europe. This is the sole survivor from these dies and the only numismatic object with any pretension to the title of an original Henry Lee Comitia Americana medal. Its lack of an obverse die crack firmly dates it to before Joseph Wright's death, as Jefferson himself noted in several places that these dies cracked in hardening and failed. This is a trial strike in its truest sense and represents a form of this medal that even Lee himself may never have seen. Its survival is a miracle. Its inclusion in a numismatic collection is a triumph.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 206. Earlier, from Charles McSorley on October 5, 1962.

Very Rare Henry Lee at Paulus Hook in Silver

One of Eight Struck from the Original Obverse



(Photo Enlarged)

2047

1779 (1874 - 1878) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook medal. Betts-575, Julian MI-5. Silver. Original obverse, U.S. Mint copy reverse. Philadelphia Mint. 45.3 mm, 397.2 grains. 2.0 - 2.2 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. A very rare 19th century restrike that marries the original obverse die in its cracked state to William Barber's replacement reverse. The surfaces are lustrous and bright, the old obverse less reflective than the new reverse. Attractive pastel blue toning highlights the obverse periphery with hints of gold and violet around a brilliant silver center, while the peripheral reverse toning is more subtle gold. Some light hairlines are present on both sides. The obverse shows scattered rust, best seen with magnification, and an enormous die crack that befell the die during the hardening process. The crack extends from G of LEGIONIS along a gentle arc to the rim near 6:00, with a significant buckling at Lee's hair ribbon that shows evidence of later repair efforts. The die file marks on the rim above PR of PRAEFECTO remain from an attempt to reduce the die rust in that area. The new reverse is fresh and bright, with modern (ca. 1874) lettering and a distinctive layout that will not let anyone confuse this with an original.

Though a Philadelphia Mint restrike, a Lee medal in silver has always been a highly regarded rarity. The only ones to sell in recent years are the two owned by John Ford (the first of which brought a remarkable \$21,850 in 2006). This one, his second, resold in 2009. Other appearances we have recorded included the two sold in Henry Sampson's June 1889 sale as lots 754 and 755, an example in David Proskey's September 1876 sale as lot 1202, the one Tom Elder offered twice in 1915 (first in June as lot 420, again in December as lot 1160), and two sold in February 1916 in the same city, the first on the February 4 in Anderson Galleries' sale as lot 194 and the other on February 23 in the United States Coin Company's sale as lot 424. One wonders how many distinct medals these represent, and if it is really possible none at all were offered between 1916 and 2006. With its single digit mintage, this medal is genuinely that rare in this composition.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our Philadelphia Americana sale, September 2009, lot 6097. Earlier, from Charles Myers, ca. 1966 to John J. Ford, Jr; our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 208.

Extremely Elusive Uniface Henry Lee in Copper Struck Before 1874



2048

1779 (ca. 1865-1874) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook medal. As Betts-575, Julian MI-6. Copper. Original obverse, blank reverse die. Philadelphia Mint. 45.4 mm, 734.0 grains. 3.8 - 4.0 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. A very rare Julian number, struck in 1874 before completion of the new reverse die. Julian mentions that "on February 9, 1874, Coiner A. Loudon Snowden was ordered to strike the Lee medal with a blank reverse; four silver and three bronze were authorized at that time although a few others are known to have been struck at various times in preceding years." At least one of those struck in "preceding years" was coined early enough to appear in Edward Cogan's October 1865 sale of the Dr. F.S. Edwards Collection, where lot 15797 was described as "Henrico Lee, 'Legionis Equit Praefecto,' &c. Rev. Blank." It brought \$2.25, a high sum for a copper U.S. Mint medal at the time.

The surfaces are even and typical for the era, with the attractive mahogany bronzing familiar to U.S. Mint medal enthusiasts. The crack and rust seen on the previous striking are seen here as well.

Only a few marks are noted, including one at the rim above EN of HENRICO on the obverse.

The mintage figures for Lee medals compiled from the back of the Julian book for the era 1874 to 1904 add up to 66 pieces in bronze. The variety with the new reverse is usually attributed as having a mintage of 35, but this uniface variety is easily five to ten times rarer. Henry Holland owned one of each variety, which were included in the 1878 W. Elliot Woodward sale of his collection. The 1882 Bushnell sale included a uniface piece as lot 1615, but included this obverse in no other form. Ford lacked this variety, and we record no recent sales at all. Interestingly, a single obverse cliché from the cracked state of the die exists, first sold in the ANR sale of June 2006 as lot 747 and resold in our 2012 ANA sale as lot 4083, a relic of the process of putting this obverse die into use in the 1874 era. This bronze striking is nearly as rare as that unique item is.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson.



Plan of Paulus Hook. (Library of Congress)

U.S. Mint Henry Lee Restrike in Copper Copy Reverse



2049

1779 (after 1874) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook medal. Betts-575, Julian MI-5. Copper. Original obverse, U.S. Mint copy reverse. Philadelphia Mint. 45.3 mm, 676.8 grains. 3.5 - 3.6 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. Rich mahogany bronzed surfaces are typical of U.S. Mint productions in copper of this era. Nicely struck and well preserved, showing not just the fine details of Wright's obverse, but each of the relics of the die's survival and recovery: scattered rust, the substantial break, the raised file marks, and the ground repairs to the buckling behind the head. The obverse

rim shows some filing, accomplished at the Mint to reduce a fin or wire rim. Choice and problem free, a nicer than usual specimen of this scarce restrike. Through 1904, just 66 bronze Lee medals were struck, including those with the blank reverse die (as offered in the previous lot) and those struck with a new copy obverse die produced upon the failure of Wright's original obverse. The usual mintage given for this die marriage is a mere 35 pieces, which fits with its rarity in the market today.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson.

Another Attractive Henry Lee Restrike in Copper Copy Reverse



2050

1779 (after 1874) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook medal. Betts-575, Julian MI-5. Copper. Original obverse, U.S. Mint copy reverse. Philadelphia Mint. 45.3 mm, 814.8 grains. 4.0 - 4.2 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. A final Lee medal from Wright's original obverse, this one with a lighter tan patina and more reflective surfaces. The appearance of this piece more resembles the patina seen on the Lee medals struck with the copy obverse.

die (a rarity: we haven't seen one since the May 2001 LaRiviere sale, lot 1080 to the best of our recollection), suggesting that this is among the final pieces struck from Wright's obverse before it eventually failed completely. Many collectors will find this patina more attractive than the less reflective mahogany bronzed patina of the previous lot.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson.

Enigmatic “Mystery Dies” Henry Lee Electrotypes A 19th Century Copy



2051

1779 (ca. 1848) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook fantasy electrotype. As Betts-575, As Julian MI-5. Joined electrotype copper shells. Unknown American workshop. 44.4 mm, 541.1 grains. 4.1 - 4.4 mm thick. Nearly as made. Square filed edge. Dark brown with good eye appeal and in-hand heft, a filled electrotype. A curious production, made by someone who knew what a Lee medal should look like, but not actually made from a real Lee medal. Rather than being joined at the center point of the edge, these are two shells — one for obverse, one for reverse — that show a seam at their peripheries where they were joined to a separate rim. The surfaces are typical of an electrotype: wavy, basined, totally unlike a struck piece. The shells were made from a mould done by someone who was a competent artist but not a great electrotypist, with both sides showing raised relics of file marks on the mould, doubled impressions into the mould face, and heavy after-production filing on both the raised rim and the perpendicular edge. The portrait and the lettering styles are rather unlike Wright's original work and Barber's copyist attempt.

So what are these things? Adams and Bentley have suggested that these are a set of ancient “mystery dies” that represent an early copy, perhaps even the dies that were produced after Wright's death to create a medal for Lee himself. We disagree. The fabric is of a wholly-produced electrotype (i.e. not something made as a copy of something else), and no one has ever so much as whispered that a struck version may exist. Indeed, the only evidence whatsoever that this production existed before the 1850s is the word of a Swedish curator who claims that their records indicate that the specimen in the Royal Cabinet collection was accessioned before 1832. He wasn't there then, and we've seen too many botched accession records to put much stock in the claim.

The evidence that this is an American production of the 1850s is voluminous. When William Cowper Prime authored his *Coins, Medals, and Seals: Ancient and Modern* in 1861, his plate CIV is clearly taken from one of these. Strobridge's June 1863 sale included an electrotype as lot 1166, almost certainly one of these given that no original exists to make an electrotype copy from. The bronze piece that was in the New York State Library collection when inventoried and published in 1857 was probably one of these too. But who made them, and from what?

The answer may be found in W. Elliot Woodward's sale of February 1887. Woodward's catalogs are as valuable for their commentary and secret-telling about the backrooms of the numismatic scene as for any lot descriptions, and his long explanation of a series of electrotypes made by the fraudster Thomas Wyatt and failed coin dealer Daniel Groux are just such a circumstance. On page 37, Woodward tells the whole story.

Many persons who knew something of American numismatics as early as 1840, will remember the old French adventurer, whose baptismal name was Jacques Groux, but who was generally known as Prof. Daniel E. Groux. Before he came to America he traveled extensively as a courier, with Mr. Walters of England, and afterward with Prince Galitzin of Russia, by both of whom he was highly recommended for his honesty, his skill in cookery, as a courier, and for various other accomplishments. He managed to get possession of a large and valuable numismatic collection, which he brought with him to America. Afterward, for several years, he figured here in various capacities, as valet, scullion, cook, etc., subsequently as a professor and a writer on financial matters and political subjects. In New York City he made the acquaintance of Thomas Wyatt, of unsavory reputation in connection with a fraudulent issue of American coins. Groux entered into partnership with him for the purpose of conducting a numismatic business. He sought the acquaintance of several distinguished men in roping them into an interest and quasi-endorsement of some of his schemes. Daniel Webster, Charles Francis Adams, Dr. Winslow Lewis and others were amongst his victims. This somewhat long explanation seems necessary to explain the “reason for being” of the following casts and facsimiles of medals. The National and Presidential medals were first made in facsimile by Wyatt, and the following set, with the others which were manufactured by Groux, were sold to Dr. Winslow Lewis for a large sum, and came to me when purchasing his collections. All are facsimiles, some copper, some silver-plated, and being fairly well made they answer a useful purpose and serve as objects for study and comparison.

The lots that follow in Woodward's sale include 13 different groupings, mostly quite large. Lot 873 is described as “National Medals for victories of the Army and Navy; includes Henry Lee, copied from original; copper, silver-plated, etc. 37 pcs.”

Groux's partner in this plan, Thomas Wyatt, is perhaps best remembered for his fake New England coins, but first made his name on the numismatic scene for his 1848 publication *Memoirs of the Generals, Commodores, And Other Commanders: Who Distinguished Themselves in the American Army and Navy during the Wars of the Revolution and 1812, And Who Were Presented with Medals by Congress, For Their Gallant Services*. Considered the first work on American medals, the Lee medal is among those described — and depicted. It is on plate 4 of the Wyatt book, on a plate engraved by W.L. Ormsby using a medal-ruling machine, a contraption that copied illustrations directly from medals. The illustration on Wyatt's plate is one of these: a fanciful copy of the Lee medal in precisely this form. Interestingly, Wyatt's first book, which preceded *Memoirs* by two years, was entitled *History of the Kings of France*, illustrated with plates of medals made by Ormsby with the medal-ruling machine. The 1887 Woodward sale of the Wyatt-Groux copies included three large lots of copies of the exact sorts of French medals that book depicted, adding up to 232 pieces in all. For more on Wyatt, David Fanning's article in the Winter 2016 issue of *The Asylum* entitled "Thomas Wyatt and the Birth of Numismatic Fraud in the United States" details the man's schemes well, including an 1856 enterprise to sell a completely inauthentic Good Samaritan shilling to an unidentified dupe to whom Wyatt wrote that he had given "10 Revolutionary medals for it." One wonders if his phony-baloney Lee medal was one of them.

This production exists in two forms: as an electrotype, as here, and as a cast made from these electrotypes, as mentioned in Woodward's note. The casts exist in both copper and white metal (the ANS has all three forms in their collection). This enigma is clearly related to some other seemingly inexplicable productions known as both electrotypes and casts, such as the nonsense muling of a Washington obverse and a Stony Point reverse (see Stack's Bowers March 2015, lot 32024 for a cast of an "original" electrotype), whose workmanship and crudity strongly suggests production by the same workshop. The bizarre Washington obverse seen on that Stony Point muling is also found married in electrotype form with the reverse of a small size Jefferson Peace medal, as in W.W.C. Wilson, lot 873. All of these designs — the Washington obverse, the Stony Point reverse, the Lee medal obverse and reverse, and the Jefferson Peace medal reverse — were present in the Wyatt-Groux grouping in Woodward's February 1887 sale.

Just because the "mystery dies" Lee medal is a fantastic concoction from the mid-19th century does not render it worthless; in fact, a Wyatt "original" Good Samaritan shilling is a five-figure item. Your cataloger has not seen many of these, and most are aftercasts, not an "original" electrotype, as here. This is an interesting and highly collectible item from the very earliest days of serious American medal collecting.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craigie.

Another "Mystery Dies" Henry Lee Electrotype



2052

1779 (ca. 1848) Henry Lee at Paulus Hook fantasy electrotype. As Betts-575, As Julian MI-5. Joined electrotype copper shells. Unknown American workshop. 45.3 mm, 326.2 grains. 3.2 - 3.4 mm thick. Nearly as made. Square filed edge. Another example, this one hollow and unfilled, with pleasing glossy tan surfaces. The seam is clearly visible at the periphery of the obverse and the

periphery of the reverse, where each side is joined to the separate rim. A pleasing and well made piece. This may trace its provenance to the collection of Thomas Addis Emmet, who collected in the 1860s before his coins and papers were donated to the New York Public Library.

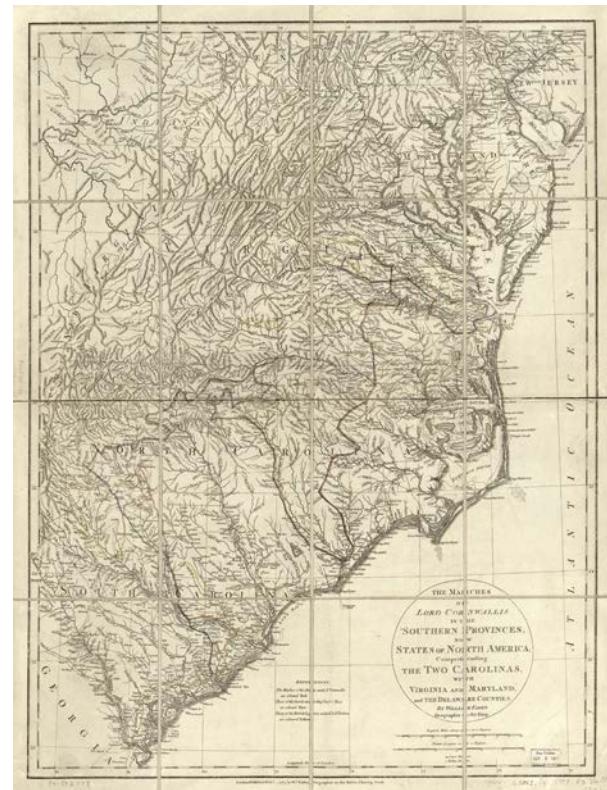
From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Ruddy's New York Public Library sale, October 1982, lot 2628.

THE BATTLE OF COWPENS

The Action:

The day after Christmas 1779, Sir Henry Clinton and General Charles Cornwallis left British-occupied New York with more than 8,000 men. Their destination was Charleston, South Carolina, and upon their arrival the focus of the Revolutionary War became the struggle to win the hearts, minds, and battlefields of the Carolinas. Clinton and Cornwallis laid siege to Charleston beginning in April 1780, and the following month they controlled the city. Their army made its way to the middle of South Carolina and encamped near the town of Camden, where Horatio Gates, the newly appointed commander of the Southern Department, encountered Cornwallis' force in August 1780. Gates was soundly defeated, his force decimated, his reputation essentially destroyed. Cornwallis and his forces, including reviled Banastre Tarleton, captured the tiny hamlet of Charlotte soon thereafter, then made their way back to winter camp in central South Carolina, in the town of Winnsborough.

Following Gates' relief from command, General George Washington dispatched a member of his "military family" to the Southern Department: Nathanael Greene. Greene's strategy revolved not around direct large-scale confrontation, but fleeting contact and costly chases, meant to expose the British and their Loyalist partisans to guerrilla attacks and keep their divided forces far from supply lines. The October 1780 American victory at Kings Mountain, along the North Carolina / South Carolina border, bolstered the Patriot cause in the Upcountry. Greene had made his winter camp in Cheraw, in the eastern Pee Dee region of South Carolina, but a portion of his troops under General Daniel Morgan continued to move through the backcountry. Cornwallis dispatched Tarleton to give chase with a force of just over 1,000 men, mostly British regulars.



The marches of Lord Cornwallis in the Southern Provinces, now States of North America; comprehending the two Carolinas, with Virginia and Maryland, and the Delaware counties. (Library of Congress)

Morgan chose the place he would permit Tarleton to meet his men: at the Cowpens, a pasture near the North Carolina state line close to modern Spartanburg. Morgan, known for his team of crack riflemen, decided to capitalize upon the British stereotype that American militiamen would quickly retreat. He ordered his militia to do just that, then move to the rear, reform, and wait for Continental regulars to break through the British line.

Holding the rear high ground, his plan worked like a charm, finished off by an infantry line held together by Col. John Eager Howard's leadership and a cavalry charge led by Col. William Washington as the denouement. Morgan described his defeat of Tarleton as "a devil of a whipping." Congress agreed, and selected him to receive a gold medal, while both Howard and Washington were awarded silver medals. Only Cowpens and the 1779 reduction of Stony Point were recognized with three medals.

After the victory at Cowpens, Greene and Morgan reunited and moved north, meeting Cornwallis at Guilford Court House in March 1781. With his force badly weakened after the battle, Cornwallis marched for Wilmington, on the North Carolina coast, to regroup. His next, and final, stop would be Yorktown.



The Battle of Cowpens, painted by William Ranney in 1845. At center on the white horse is Colonel William Washington.

The Resolution:

The United States in Congress assembled, considering it as a tribute due to distinguished merit to give a public approbation of the conduct of Brigadier General Morgan, and of the officers and men under his command, on the 17th day of January last; when with eighty cavalry, and two hundred and thirty-seven infantry of the troops of the United States, and five hundred and fifty-three militia from the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, he obtained a complete and important victory over a select and well appointed detachment of more than eleven hundred British troops, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton; do therefore resolve,

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be given to Brigadier General Morgan, and the officers and men under his command, for their fortitude and good conduct, displayed in the action at the Cowpens, in the State of South Carolina, on the 17th of January last:

That a Medal of Gold be presented to Brigr Genl Morgan representing on one side the action aforesaid particularising his numbers, the numbers of the enemy, the numbers of killed, wounded and prisoners and his trophies with the inscription *patria virtus* [undecipherable], and on the other side his bust with his name and this inscription: *Ipse agmen the figure of the General on horseback leading on his troops in pursuit of the flying enemy, with this motto in the Exergue Fortus Fortuna Juvat Virtus Unita Valet.*

That a medal of gold be presented to Brigadier General Morgan, and a medal of silver to Lieutenant Colonel W. Washington, of the cavalry, and one of silver to Lieutenant Colonel Howard, of the infantry of the United States; severally with emblems and mottos descriptive of the conduct of those officers respectively on that memorable day:

That a sword be presented to Colonel Pickens, of the militia, in testimony of his spirited decisive and magnanimous conduct in the action before mentioned:

Resolved, that a sword be presented to Lieutenant Colonel Howard of the infantry, and one also to Lieutenant Colonel Washington of Recommitted. the Cavalry of the federal army each, that their names may be transmitted honourably to posterity renowned for public virtue and as testimonies of the high sense entertained by Congress of their martial accomplishments.

That Major Edward Giles, aid-de-camp of Brigadier General Morgan, have the brevet commission of a major; and that Baron de Glasbeech, who served with Brigadier General Morgan as a volunteer, have the brevet commission of captain in the army of the United States; in consideration of their merit and services.

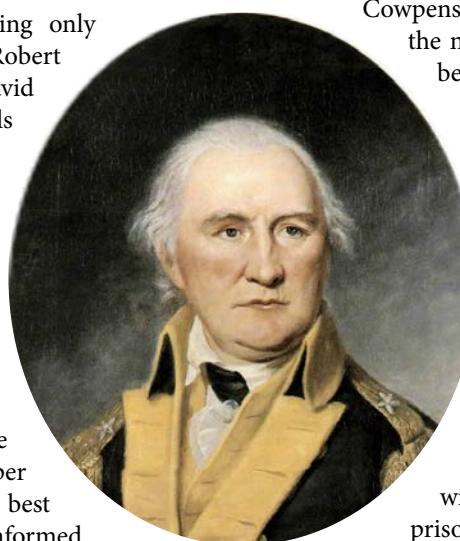
Ordered, That the commanding officer in the southern department, communicate these resolutions in general orders.

— Continental Congress Resolution of March 9, 1781

DANIEL MORGAN AT COWPENS

The Acquisition:

When Benjamin Franklin left Paris having only completed the medal for De Fleury, it fell to Robert Morris to write to Franklin's replacement, David Humphreys, in June 1784 with a list of medals for which he would be responsible. A little less than a year later, Humphreys wrote back to Congress with an update. "Some time after my arrival here," Humphreys wrote in March 1785, "I received the enclosed letter from [Robert Morris], accompanied with a list of medals, etc., and a description of those intended for General Morgan and Colonels Washington and Howard." And then the excuses began. "Upon the receipt of these documents I did not delay to make the proper inquiries from the characters who were the best skilled in the subjects of this nature ... Being informed at the same time that the description of the medals for General Morgan, etc., was not in the style and manner such medals were usually executed, I took the liberty of suspending the execution of them, until I could learn whether it is the pleasure of Congress to have them performed *exactly* in the manner prescribed."



Daniel Morgan
by Charles Willson Peale

Humphreys seems to have back-burnered Morgan and the other Cowpens medals rather permanently after that. He finished the medals for Horatio Gates and Nathanael Greene before departing Paris. The rest fell to Humphrey's replacement, Thomas Jefferson.

When Thomas Jefferson took the baton from David Humphreys, all three of the Cowpens medals were handed off, along with General Washington's gold medal, without so much as an agreement with an engraver. Humphreys wrote to Jefferson in April 1786 to let him know that these four medals would be entirely his responsibility "because the designs for them have not been in readiness for execution until the present time. Nor can that for Genl. Morgan be commenced without farther information of the numbers killed, prisoners &c in the action to be perpetuated. These documents I will endeavor to get the Secretary at war to forward immediately."

Jefferson pulled a Humphreys. He procrastinated. Augustin Dupré, Paris' most esteemed medallic engraver of the era, delivered the finished Nathanael Greene medal to Jefferson on February 13, 1787. It had been nearly a year after Jefferson took

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

on the Comitia Americana project, but precious little had been accomplished in the interval. Following his meeting with Dupré, Jefferson would forget about the project for another full year. Finally, in January 1789, Jefferson picked up his quill and wrote to Dupré: "Mr. Jefferson having received orders concerning medals to be struck would like to talk about them with M. Dupré, if he will please do him the honor to call on him to-morrow morning before eleven o'clock." After taking the best part of three years off, Jefferson was suddenly in a rush. It must have thrilled the Frenchman to no end.

On February 13, 1789, Jefferson sent Dupré the approved designs and inscriptions for the John Paul Jones and Daniel Morgan medals. Dupré made quick work of the Morgan medal, arguably his masterpiece. He finished it before the Jones medal and Jefferson carried Morgan's gold medal home with him in September 1789.

The Presentation:

Daniel Morgan started to wonder where his medal was sooner than most recipients and began asking questions soon after the war was over. He wrote to one of Virginia's delegates to the Continental Congress, John F. Mercer, and to Secretary of War General Benjamin Lincoln, in February 1783.

The Honorable Congress after the action at Cowpens thought proper to vote me a Medal for my conduct in that affair, and as such an acknowledgement of my country's approbation could not but be flattering to the mind of a soldier I have made frequent application to get, and have been as frequently disappointed. Gen. Lincoln once informed me that nothing prevented its being sent to me but the low situation of finances, and I should have it as soon as there was money to be had to defray the Expense. Now sir, I not only wish you to expedite the making of it, but that you may also pay some attention to the manner in which it may be done, and with devices properly emblematical of the affair. I have so good an opinion of your taste and general knowledge as to wish to submit the matter entirely to your discretion, the expense cannot be considerable, and I flatter myself the Financier on a proper application would advance a sum sufficient to defray it, especially to gratify the inclinations of a man whose principal aim it has been to obtain his Country's applause to his conduct.

Mercer wrote back in April 1783.

The change in our circumstances which the late pacification has made will now permit the Secretary of War to carry into immediate execution a Resolve of Congress directing him to furnish the medals voted to those whose Distinguished Merit has drawn that mark of applause and gratitude from their Country during the late War. You may depend on my attention

to yours, and if I have any talent at Design (which by the way I doubt extremely) it shall be aided by the assistance of those whose imagination I esteem as elegant as correct, and I hope will eventually produce what ought to equal your expectation from the hands you have committed it to, if it does not meet your approbation.

Morgan waited patiently for seven more years. On March 25, 1790, the same day Washington sent medals off to the heroes of Stony Point and Morgan's fellow veterans of Cowpens, he finally sent Morgan his own gold medal.

Sir:

You will receive with this a Medal struck by order of the late Congress in commemoration of your much approved conduct in the battle of Cowpens, and presented to you as a mark of the high sense which your Country entertains of your services on that occasion.

This Medal was put into my hands by Mr. Jefferson, and it is with singular pleasure that I now transmit it to you.

*I am Sir, with very great esteem, your most obedt servt,
George Washington*

The Daniel Morgan at Cowpens Medal:

Obverse: The traditional reverse was considered the obverse by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres and by Jefferson himself. Alas, we hew to numismatic tradition. With flags and cannons — the traditional trophies of war — at left, the goddess America in her traditional garb and holding her traditional shield crowns Morgan, at right, with a laurel wreath. Morgan bows slightly, his sword grounded, with the rural scene of battle seen behind him. Beneath the exergue are the words COMITIA AMERICANA. Around the periphery: DANIELI MORGAN DUCI EXERCITUS or "Daniel Morgan, head of the army."

Reverse: Perhaps the most impressive and evocative battle scene in the realm of American medallic art, at least until the Mexican-American War masterworks of Charles Cushing Wright. Morgan, in the saddle and pointing forward with his sword, leads his soldiers from right to left. The Cowpens flag flies behind him at the front of his troops, who carry their muskets with bayonets fixed. A native ally stabs a fallen British cavalryman in the lower left, while other British troops, one mounted, scramble. A British flag and smoke rise from the left. The legend above VICTORIA LIBERTATIS VINDEX means "Victory is Liberty's defender." In the exergue, FVGATIS CAPTIS AVT CAESIS AD COWPENS HOSTIBVS XVII. JAN. MDCCCLXXXI means "The enemy chased, captured, or killed at the Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781." In the lower exergue, Dupré signs DUPRE INV ET F or "Dupré conceived and made it."

Extremely Rare Original Daniel Morgan at Cowpens Medal in Silver

Former Record Holder for Most Valuable American Medal Ever Sold

Unique in Private Hands



(Photo Enlarged)

2053

1781 Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1211.8 grains. 4.6 - 4.8 mm thick. Choice Extremely Fine. Plain concave edge. A triumph of medallic art and perhaps Dupré's greatest effort of the era on behalf of the newborn United States, struck on a substantial and weighty planchet of noble metal. Deep antique silver gray with pastel blue and deeper navy tones around the devices and close to the rims. The devices stand out in bold relief from the reflective fields, double struck to fully impress the details. Some vestiges of the double striking may still be seen around the obverse legends. The fields show evidence of ancient polishing, including some brightness and hairlines that have become dulled over a dozen or more decades, along with some hints of jeweler's rouge that remain trapped between Morgan's head and his laurel and above the first letter E of EXERCITUS. A tiny batch of marks is noted below that same letter, and a rim nick is present just below 3:00 on the obverse. The visual appeal is little short of majestic.

The die chip in the reverse exergue, below M of the date and above IN of INV in Dupré's signature, serves as the principal means of differentiating between these original dies and the 1839 dies produced by the copyist Barre. Other tinier flaws are also noted, including one right of the pointed tip of the finial atop the flag at the left side of the reverse and a tiny spalling pit right of the top right serif of X in VINDEX that serves to turn the period after that word into the bottom half of a colon. The errant graver lines between VINDEX and the flag below also serve as distinguishing characteristics. The die state appears identical to Washington's

own medal at the Massachusetts Historical Society, with all flaws essentially the same shape and size. There is every reason to believe this Morgan, along the others struck from these dies, was struck in 1789 or very soon thereafter. As Adams and Bentley note, a tiny raised triangular flaw is noted on the reverse rim at roughly 2:30, near the final fold in the swallow tailed flag at right. The two original bronzes in this collection both show the flaw, in slightly different shapes; one appears smaller (thus, one would presume, earlier) than seen here while the other appears larger, but these appearances could be the byproduct of striking characteristics as much as die state. It is challenging to surmise much from them.

Any original Morgan at Cowpens medal is of the highest rarity, even those struck in bronze. For whatever reason, these dies were never employed to produce restrikes at Paris like the dies for George Washington, Jones, Howard, and William Washington, nor were they carried to the Philadelphia Mint like the dies for Horatio Gates' medal. Instead, like Dupré's dies for the Nathanael Greene medal, a small run was made at Paris roughly contemporary to the production of the original gold medal and the dies were never used again. The Adams-Bentley census found three silver originals: the MHS piece, the one in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, and this one, the sole survivor in private hands. Among the seven original bronzes they listed, only three were privately held. The second of the bronzes in this collection appears to be unlisted in the Adams census, leaving a total collectible population from Dupré's original dies of just six pieces, of which this is the only silver strike that has survived outside of an institution.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

There is a handful of silver Morgan at Cowpens medals that have been described in auction catalogs over the years: most, or even all, appear to be the later restrikes coined from the copy dies produced in 1839. Hunter:232 was described as a restrike in 1920. Bushnell:1617 was called “a beautiful medal” by the young Chapmans, 38 years before S.H. Chapman let his earned expertise show in the Hunter catalog; the Bushnell specimen was almost certainly a high grade restrike. Similarly, Wilson:810 was called “Proof,” which essentially assures us Wayte Raymond was describing one of the restrikes. (Perhaps related: the silver restrike Morgan in Ford XIV:211, described as “Gem Uncirculated, fully prooflike” was from the Wayte Raymond estate.) The specimen in Barney Bluestone’s 92nd sale (April 1946) described as “Unc.” and “nearly 4 oz.” was certainly a restrike as well. The only early appearance that seems to have some shot at being an original is the offering in John W. Haseltine’s April 1875 sale, lot 614. Sold under the heading “United States and Foreign Silver Medals,” the lot was described as “very fine, very rare.” Our consignor cites a listing for a silver Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal in the London Sotheby’s sale of May 21, 1969, lot 223. That piece is almost certainly the one offered here. (John J. Ford Jr. acquired an early American related medal from that sale via Spink and Son. Lucien LaRiviere acquired this piece from Spink and Son during the same era.) One wonders if this piece ended up with LaRiviere rather than Ford because Ford figured he already had one (even though his silver Morgan was a restrike from copy dies, not an original) or because he thought the price was too dear.

For those whose focus is American numismatics, Augustin Dupré is most famous for the *Libertas Americana* medal. He created other *Comitia Americana* medals (John Paul Jones and Nathanael Greene), as well as two beloved portrait medals of Franklin that share a common obverse. All are beautiful, and each shows a different facet of Dupré’s extraordinary talent and skill. But none are so successful as compositions as this. The obverse design is closely related to Dupré’s 1789 *Au Cultivateur Laborieux* agricultural prize medal, though whether that medal was based upon this design or vice versa is unclear. The chaotic, dynamic reverse design is not only the class of the *Comitia Americana* series, magnitudes more impressive than

Gatteaux’s and Duvivier’s battle scenes, but it inspired Moritz Fürst’s superb work on medals to mark Isaac Shelby’s efforts at the Battle of the Thames (1813), Gen. James Miller at Niagara (1814), and Gen. Alexander Macomb at Plattsburgh (1814). The Shelby medal, in particular, borrows heavily from Dupré’s Morgan design, matching his painstaking detail in a manner that would only be exceeded by Charles Cushing Wright’s majestic efforts during the Mexican-American War.

When this medal brought \$80,500 when it last sold in May 2001, it shattered a decades old record for the highest price realized by an American historical medal — \$51,000 — formerly held by Anthony Wayne’s own gold *Comitia Americana* medal, sold by Sotheby Parke-Bernet in 1978. As a contrast, in May 1999, just two years before this medal created a new price structure for rare American medals, Harry Bass’s gem silver *Libertas Americana* medal realized \$19,550 (now the price of a mediocre Mint State bronze specimen of the same medal) and his exceptional silver *De Fleury* medal realized \$27,600. The record this medal set did not stand long. Before 2001 had ended, a Thomas Jefferson Indian Peace medal had crossed the six-figure mark, netting \$115,000 in November 2001. Five years later, in November 2006, Zachary Taylor’s Congressional gold medal for the Battle of Buena Vista brought \$460,000. Arguably, the Taylor medal record as most valuable American medal ever sold still holds, as other medals that have realized higher sums (like James Watson’s Nobel prize and Jesse Owens’ Olympic gold medal) are not of American manufacture despite their American relevance. Of course, at this point, dozens of medals have brought prices that surpass the \$80,500 this medal brought in 2001. Not counting the 1936 Nobel Peace Prize we sold in 2014 for \$1,116,250, this firm has sold no fewer than 46 medals for more than \$80,000 (not counting all of the 1776 Continental “dollars” that could probably now be added to the list). Every one of those sales has happened since this medal first broke that barrier.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Merena’s sale of the Lucien M. LaRiviere Collection, Part III, May 2001, lot 1093. Earlier, purchased from Spink and Son, London. Earlier still, almost certainly from Sotheby’s (London), May 21, 1969, lot 223.

Spectacular Morgan at Cowpens Obverse Splasher

From the Personal Collection of Augustin Dupré

Adams: "I think this is the nicest cliché I have ever seen."



2054

1781 (i.e. March-April 1789) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens obverse cliché. As Betts-593. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 57.1 x 56.8 mm, 286.8 grains. 1.8 - 2.3 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain beveled edge, carefully trimmed at the time of production. Paper backed, with fiber covering most of the surface. An extraordinary survivor from the personal collection of the man who made it, described by our consignor as "the nicest cliché I have ever seen." The silver gray surfaces gleam with luster and retain gold and deep blue toning, a surface preservation that is notably uncommon on splashes like this one. The design is brought up into exacting relief, with all details as sharp or sharper than seen on multiply struck finished medals in bronze or silver. The edge has been carefully trimmed, giving this piece's periphery a faceted appearance. No significant flaws are seen, just a tiny area of roughness on the multi-step inner rim near 4:00, a more subtle one above America's outstretched arm, and a few other trivial specks here and there.

As described in our note on splashes, strikings like this (called clichés or splashes today, though Jefferson called them épreuves or proofs) were meant to be temporary. Jefferson had two sets produced as inexpensive and easily transported media to show the designs; he kept one and gave James Madison the other. This one, kept by Dupré himself, showcased the design in a way that satisfied the artist enough to retain it. Anyone who has met an artist can appreciate that this is the ultimate compliment for any piece of art.

There is a small number of surviving Daniel Morgan splashes from Dupré's original dies, all of which appear to have been struck in March or early April 1789. Two different matched sets have been offered in recently years. One first appeared in Heritage's sale of January 2009 as lots 6315 and 6316, then reappeared in our ANA sale of August 2012 and Heritage's sale of January 2014. Another different set was sold in our August 2018 ANA sale. Two of the known Morgan splashes appear to have been created from Barre's

1839 copy dies: the piece in lot 2058 and the obverse in Presidential Coin and Antique's sale of October 2000, lot 464 that was described as "no doubt made by Barre who was cutting the new dies in 1839." The PCAC specimen's illustration is not sharp enough to be certain of which die created it — Dupré or Barre — but we trust the judgment of that company's wise cataloger. Other splashes described in the auction record are mysterious and could be from either set of dies. Thomas Elder's May 1915 sale included a pewter cliché for this medal as lot 503 described as "impression from original die in pewter," but he neglected to note which side of the medal it represented. Henry Christensen's September 1967 Medals of the World sale included an obverse cliché described as "very fine" which was likely from Dupré's die based on condition alone. The Lasser-Colonial Williamsburg Foundation specimen was discovered in France in 2000. One of the surviving sets is probably the one from the 1933 Charles P. Senter sale, lot 24, which included "a bronze and 2 shells" of the Morgan medal, along with three other Comitia Americana medals. No Morgan splashes (either side) were present in the Ford or LaRiviere collections. None are in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution or the American Numismatic Society. A reverse cliché remains at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and others could be in other institutional collections, but the sum total of splashes from Dupré's original obverse die appears to be no more than five: this one, the 1967 Henry Christensen piece (unseen since and of uncertain origin), the Lasser specimen in the collection of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and those found in the matched sets described above.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, May 2014. Earlier, from the personal collection of Augustin Dupré; Dupré Estate; Narcisse Dupré, by descent, January 1833; Augustin Dupré (grandson of the engraver), by descent; legatee of Augustin Dupré II and their descendants, by descent; Bonham's sale of the Archive of Augustin and Narcisse Dupré, April 2014, lot 1.

Very Rare Morgan at Cowpens Reverse Splasher
Perhaps Four Known



2055

1781 (i.e. March-April 1789) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens reverse cliché. As Betts-593. White metal. Original striking. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 55.2 x 55.3 mm, 285.4 grains. 1.8 - 2.3 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain trimmed edge. Paper backed, with fiber covering most of the surface and layered laid paper at center, where a round area of ancient adhesive retains a fragment of a second sheet. Deep pewter gray with areas of lighter silver, most prominent in the upper field. A bit granular and somewhat worn, not as carefully preserved as the choice splasher in the previous lot (the imaginative among us may wonder if this was one of the clichés stolen from Jefferson's quarters in February 1798 by York - who was enslaved at Monticello - then sold by him and subsequently lost). Some verdigris is present beneath VICTORIA and among

the design details closest to the open field. All lettering and design elements remain clear, and despite some minor marks no significant flaws are present. The hallmarks present on this original Dupré die that serve as distinguishing characteristics compared to the Barre copy are present here, with the graver lines beneath X of VINDEX most easily seen. Aside from the reverse cliché in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the only other Morgan reverse splashers known to us are those present in matched sets, making this a great rarity and a unique opportunity.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Richard Margolis, January 2012.

Superb Original Daniel Morgan at Cowpens Medal in Bronze
One of Four in Private Hands



2056

1781 Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1166.3 grains. 5.1 - 5.4 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, witness line or collaring mark at 4:00 relative to the obverse. An exceptional quality example of this great rarity. Glossy medium chocolate brown with attractive remnants of gold and red adhering to the peripheral design elements, particularly on the obverse. Boldly detailed on both sides, thanks to the triple striking, vestiges of which are most visible around the upper reverse legend. Some scattered marks are seen, none particularly serious, and a few tiny rim nicks are present, including one on the obverse left of the cannon breeches. A few harmless surface spots are noted, the one on the multistep inner rim below C of COMITIA most evident among them. The large die flaw below M of the date, the easiest distinguisher of the original dies, is bold and present, as are other tells: the raised lines below X of VINDEX, the spalling pit at the upper right serif of the same X, another pit near the flag finial near V of VICTORIA. These spalling pits are small and in their earliest states.

Suggestive of just how early the die state of this specimen is, a tiny fleck of gold has been struck into the edge adjacent to C of COMITIA at the left side of the obverse exergue, placing the timing of this piece's striking as close to Morgan's original as possible. The freshness and light reflectivity also suggests just how early this piece's production was in the striking sequence.

The relatively numerous copper strikings from the 1839 copy dies have cast a shadow of inattention upon the extremely rare bronze originals. They are rare, rarer than bronze original Nathanael Greene or De Fleury medals, for instance, and rarer even than silver original Washington Before Bostons. Literally half of the known population of bronze original Morgan at Cowpens medals are offered in this and the following lot.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Marc McDonald, June 2008. Earlier, from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of the Dan Hansen Collection, November 2002, lot 455.

Another Choice Original Daniel Morgan at Cowpens Medal in Bronze
One of Four in Private Hands



2057

1781 Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 56.1 mm, 1069.8 grains. 4.7 - 5.1 mm thick. **Choice About Uncirculated.** Plain concave edge, witness line or collaring mark at 4:00 relative to the obverse. A near twin to the preceding lot, struck from the same die state (though with perhaps a bit more field reflectivity) and even showing a microscopic gold fleck struck into the edge suggestive of production proximate to Morgan's own gold original. The fields show strong reflectivity and good luster on medium brown surfaces highlighted with gold and rose. Some old verdigris and build up is noted around some design elements, including the outstretched arm of America. The fields and devices are notably free of marks, though some very subtle hairlines are detected in the obverse field. All details are definitively sharp, and evidence of multiple strikes is seen among the letters of

the reverse legend (though without as much spread as seen on the previous lot). The rims are clean and sound.

As suggested above, the die state is early, essentially identical to the other bronze piece in this collection, the silver piece in this collection, and Washington's own silver specimen in the MHS. A microscopic gold fleck on the edge, near the reverse rim at 9:00, seems to link this piece in striking sequence to the previous copper specimen and Morgan's own gold medal.

A comparison of the two bronze original Morgan at Cowpens medals in the Adams Collection does not readily permit placement of one as finer than the other. Both are lovely, and many will prefer this medal to the one offered in the previous lot.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Leonard Finn, December 1983.

REPLACING DANIEL MORGAN'S MEDAL

Of the 11 recipients of Congressionally authorized medals for military acts in the Revolutionary War, just seven were awarded medals in gold, all generals except one: George Washington, Horatio Gates, Anthony Wayne, John Paul Jones, Capt. Henry Lee, Daniel Morgan, and Nathanael Greene. Those to whom Congress awarded silver medals were lieutenants (William Washington), majors (John Stewart) and lieutenant colonels (De Fleury and Howard). Of the seven gold medals struck, four still exist. George Washington's is in the Boston Public Library. Horatio Gates' is at the New-York Historical Society. Anthony Wayne's is owned by the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution. Nathanael Green's is at the Rhode Island Historical Society. The original having been lost, a replacement John Paul Jones medal in gold was struck from Dupré's original dies in 1947. The medal and dies were placed in Jones' crypt at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, and two other gold medals are said to have been struck at the same time (if so, they are untraced). No rumor of Henry Lee's medal has ever surfaced (leading to suspicions that it may have never been struck).

Daniel Morgan's medal was stolen and lost. A literal Act of Congress was required to replace it.

Daniel Morgan died in July 1802 near Winchester in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley. He was the father of two daughters, but his estate passed to his eldest male heir, grandson Morgan Neville, then 19 years old. Morgan's gold medal was chief among the relics left to his young namesake. Neville grew up in Pittsburgh, and he was the cashier of that city's Farmers and Mechanics Bank when disaster struck on April 6, 1818. The bank was burglarized "by means of false keys, and a large amount in notes and specie stolen therefrom," according to the *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette*. The *Gazette* was half-owned and edited at that point by Morgan Neville himself. The thieves were readily identified as a pair of ne'er-do-well gamblers named Joseph Pluymart and Herman Emmons. When an accounting was done, it appeared the two men made off with about \$100,000 in paper money and \$3,000 worth of gold and silver. The precious metal included a quantity of coin and "a number of Hamburgh medals, of uncommonly pure gold, of different devices and impressions, and principally on naval subjects." Most important, the thieves also took "a gold medal granted by the Congress of the United States to Gen. Morgan, commemorative of his gallant services at the battle of the Cowpens. Its weight was about equal to 29 guineas."

Neville's entire patrimony and life savings was gone. His bank offered a huge reward for the return of what was stolen: first \$1,000, then \$3,000 for the loot and \$1,000 for the capture of those responsible. Before the reward could be collected, Pluymart and Emmons were arrested in Ohio. Pluymart promptly escaped custody and ran. Emmons led authorities to a pile of soggy paper money "much injured by the damp" 37 miles downriver from Pittsburgh. Pluymart was apprehended in early June 1818 near the Canadian border carrying "about \$5,000 in gold and bills." The medal was never recovered.

Neville, undoubtedly apoplectic, tried to replace his grandfather's gold medal however he could. In his desperation, 18 months later,

he wrote to the retired ex-president who had first had the medal struck: Thomas Jefferson, who was living out his senior citizenship at Monticello.

Pittsburg. Dec^r 10th 1819

Sir.

The Motive for my present communication, must plead my Excuse for intruding upon you, & the history of your Life, is a pledge to every American, that the humblest Request will be attended to.

I am the Representative of the late General D. Morgan of Virginia, to whom Congress presented a gold Medal for the battle of the Cowpens. This descended to me as the eldest Male Grandchild of this officer. Unfortunately, a Bank, in which the Medal was deposited, was last year robbed, & this with many other valuable articles belonging to me, was taken. I have lost all hopes of recovering it, as I have reason to believe that one of the Robbers threw it into the S^t Lawrence: I leave it to you, sir, to judge of my mortification since this event.

I have determined to petition Congress, through my friend, the honorable Henry Baldwin, to pass a Resolution authorizing me to have one struck at my Expense; as my situation however, at present would not permit me to take advantage of such a resolution, without having the original Die, I have written on the subject to Mr. Gallatin, & to the Marquis de la Fayette, whose Aid de camp, my father the late General Presley Neville was, in '77. Since writing to these gentlemen it has occurred to me that, as the Medals voted by Congress were executed under your direction, you might be able to assist me with your advice; if I be not mistaken you employed on that occasion three artists; DuVivier, Dupré & Cateau. My Grandfather's was executed by Dupré. Any information which you may have the goodness to give me as to where these dies were deposited; whose property you consider them; the possibility of my procuring the one I want, & what course I ought to pursue, will be most gratefully acknowledged by me. By gratifying me with a reply to this communication, you will lay me under a most serious obligation.

With sincere wishes that your life may be long spared, permit me to offer to you the homage of sincere respect & profound veneration.

Morgan Neville

Jefferson wrote back quickly, just a week after Neville had sent his initial letter.

Monticello Dec. 18. 19

Sir

On receipt of your letter of the 10th I turned to my papers respecting the medals given by Congress to certain officers. They charged their minister of finance with procuring them, and he put the execution into the hands of Col^o Humphreys when he went to Paris as Secretary of legation. But, he returning before much progress was made, left the completion with me. I had them completed and when I returned from France in 1789,

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

I brought two complete sets & delivered them to General Washington, the one in silver for himself, the others in gold or silver as voted by Congress was for the officers and delivered to G^l Washington to be presented. That to G^l Morgan was of gold. Each die cost 2400lb and the gold for the medal was 400lb as an additional charge. Congress had directed copies in silver to be presented to the different Sovereigns of Europe and to the Universities of that quarter & our own. This part of the business being unfinished, was left with Mr. Short and finally I believe dropt. The dies were directed to be deposited in the office of Mr. Grand, banker of the US. and I think they were afterwards directed to be sent here & deposited in the treasury office: but of this I am not sure. If they are not in our Treasury they ought still to be in the office of Mr. Grand. The dies were considered as the property of the US. and if not sent here, can, I imagine be found by our minister at Paris, altho' Mr. Grand be dead long since. A Mr. Gautier succeeded in his house, but retired long since to Geneva is still living as far as I know, and can give information on the subject. Perhaps Mr. Short of Philada can also give some information. This is the sum of my knowledge of the matter which is tendered with the assurances of my respect.

Th: Jefferson

When Jefferson died on July 4, 1826, Neville was no closer to obtaining a replacement medal than he had been in 1818. It took more than a decade for Neville's petition to reach the floor of Congress, making its way through the Military Affairs Committee, then the Library Committee, then a select committee, then finally to the floor of the House of Representatives. His first request was introduced by Rep. Walter Forward on January 12, 1824. On January 24, 1835 — eleven years later! — Rep. Edward Everett of Massachusetts finally presented some good news.

Mr. E. EVERETT, from the select Joint Library Committee, reported a joint resolution in effect authorizing Morgan Neville to have re-struck, from the original die, a medal, similar to the one presented by Congress to General Morgan, which had been stolen, and which was supposed to have been melted down.

The resolution having been read a first and second time, Mr. EVERETT stated that the medal referred to was presented by Congress to General Daniel Morgan, who bequeathed it to the memorialist, Morgan Neville. The memorial of Mr. Neville (upon which this report was founded) set forth that the medal was stolen from a bank in Pittsburgh, some years ago, and that all attempts, to recover it had failed. The medal was of gold, very highly valued by the family, and was stated to be worth, intrinsically, thirty-one guineas. The memorialist asks that a new medal may be struck for him from the original die, which is, or ought to be, at the mint, in Philadelphia. He did not ask that this should be done at the expense of the Government; though, under all the circumstances, he (Mr. E.) would be willing that it should be done at the public expense. But, as it would be necessary to commit the resolution in that case,

which would delay and endanger its passage, he had preferred to move its engrossment in its present form.

The resolution was then ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

A year and a half later, on July 2, 1836, the joint resolution had become law. Neville had an Act of Congress authorizing the striking of a new gold medal bearing the image of his grandfather, Daniel Morgan, for his heroism at Cowpens.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in pursuance of the request of Morgan Neville, in his memorial presented at the present session of Congress, the director of the mint, be and he is hereby, authorized and directed to cause to be struck, a gold medal of the intrinsic value of one hundred and fifty dollars, in honor of the battle of the Cowpens, which was fought on the seventeenth day of January, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, to replace the original medal presented by a resolution of the Continental Congress, of March ninth, seventeen hundred and eighty-one, to Brigadier General Daniel Morgan; the said medal to be struck from the original die, and delivered, when executed, to the said Morgan Neville, the lineal heir of General Morgan; the expense of the same to be paid out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

APPROVED, July 2, 1836.

With an authorizing act on the books, Neville now had to find the original dies. Discovering they were not at the Philadelphia Mint — and were unable to be located in Paris either — the expensive effort of creating new dies began. George Washington's own set of Comitia Americana medals was then owned by Daniel Webster, who was chair of the Senate Finance Committee when Neville's special law passed. Webster agreed to loan Washington's own specimen of the Morgan medal to have a new set of dies prepared. Lewis Cass, the American Minister to France, hand carried the medal to Paris, where it was delivered to the engraver Jean Jacques Barre in October 1838. In the summer of 1839, Barre completed a brand new set of dies, transferring the designs directly off the original medal. The dies were shipped to Philadelphia and a single gold medal was coined in December 1839.

Morgan Neville died on March 2, 1839. He never saw the medal. His family received the medal in 1841 and retained it until at least 1885, when Morgan Neville's grandson Jesse put it on display in a jewelry store window in Saratoga, New York. A local newspaper breathlessly described the gold medal as "containing \$500 worth of that precious metal." Jesse Neville died in Santa Monica, California in 1914 and the medal has not surfaced publicly since.

Barre's dies were kept on deposit at the Philadelphia Mint and employed to strike copies of Morgan's Cowpens medal in silver, gilt bronze, bronze, and white metal. While mintage figures were not kept until after 1855, 96 copper specimens and two more in silver are recorded to have been struck between 1855 and 1904.

Important (1839) Morgan at Cowpens Trial by Barre
Perhaps Two Known



2058

1781 (i.e. 1839) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens obverse trial. As Betts-593, as Julian MI-7. White metal. Copy dies by Barre. Paris or Philadelphia Mint. 56.4 x 56.7 mm, 541.0 grains. 1.9 - 2.0 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain beveled edge, carefully trimmed at the time of production. Plain backed with only a trace of paper. Apparently struck on a prepared planchet, with concentric milling lines visible on the plain back. Deep slate gray with attractive gloss and deeply impressed details. The rims are high and broad, and the design is well centered on the circular flan. A natural flaw is present at the rim on the right side of the exergue, and some other as-struck anomalies and inclusions are seen on the somewhat crude flan on both sides. The eye appeal is even and excellent. Only a trivial scrape across the center base of America's shield requires mention.

This is without question an impression from Barre's copy dies, made in 1839. The distinctive die markers from this side of Barre's production — polish that breaks the upper ribbon end of Morgan's

hair queue, a horizon line that half-fills S in EXERCITUS, the less distinct sword knot on the hilt that hides between the trumpet bell and flags at left — are all present. The ultimate question becomes where this was struck: in Paris, where Barre worked, or in Philadelphia, where the dies ultimately ended up? Its origin story is suggestive (this trial was initially found in Philadelphia) but proves nothing. Nothing in particular about the striking or the planchet preparation has the hallmarks of one origin over the other, except for the (perhaps unfair) belief that the Philadelphia Mint worked with somewhat cruder conditions ca. 1840 than did the Paris Mint. If your cataloger had to guess, he would posit a Philadelphia Mint origin for this piece. The one other known obverse trial from the Barre copy dies (sold by Presidential as lot 464 in October 2000) would be a good place to start a more careful examination.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, August 2012. Earlier, discovered by a Philadelphia area coin dealer.

Choice Daniel Morgan at Cowpens Medal

Barre Dies, After 1839



2059

1781 (i.e. after 1839) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593, Julian MI-7. Bronze. Copy dies by Barre. Philadelphia Mint. 56.2 mm, 1003.0 grains. 4.4 - 4.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. Choice chocolate brown with reflective fields and crisp devices. Some evidence of multiple striking is seen in the reverse legend. Early die state, before the injury that manifests within the multistep rim above the flags at the left side of the obverse. A tiny rim nick is noted right of the date in the reverse exergue near

5:00. Superlative eye appeal, with the distinctive appearance of an early strike without the unreflective bronzed patina applied to some later strikes. A particularly handsome piece from Barre's copy dies. Just 96 examples were struck in bronze between 1855 and 1904; this may have been among the small number struck before those records were kept.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of December 1963, lot 789.



2060

1781 (i.e. after 1839) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593, Julian MI-7. Bronze. Copy dies by Barre. Philadelphia Mint. 56.2 mm, 1282.0 grains. 5.1 - 5.2 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. Nicely reflective medium brown with pale blue and gold highlights in the lustrous fields. The surfaces are essentially immaculate but for a little area of surface verdigris at GA of MORGAN. The rims have been gently filed at the time

of production, reducing a wire rim into an even rounded rim. Evidence of multiple strikes is seen in the obverse legend. Later die state, after the die injury between the steps of the obverse rim near 10:00. A supremely attractive example whose patina is light enough to let lively field reflectivity shine.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's Bowers' ANA sale of August 2013, lot 1025.



2061

1781 (i.e. after 1839) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593, Julian MI-7. Bronze. Copy dies by Barre. Philadelphia Mint. 56.1 mm, 1301.6 grains. 5.2 - 5.4 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. A particularly stout specimen that showcases attractive Philadelphia Mint mahogany bronzing but still retains reflective character with gold and blue toning in the fields. A few

little specks of verdigris are present among and above the letters of the obverse legend, otherwise choice. The wire rim has been truncated but no signs of filing are evident. Later die state, after the die injury between the steps of the obverse rim near 10:00. A good looking example of this scarce U.S. Mint production.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.



2062

1781 (i.e. after 1839) Daniel Morgan at Cowpens medal. Betts-593, Julian MI-7. Bronze. Copy dies by Barre. Philadelphia Mint. 56.2 mm, 984.2 grains. 4.2 - 4.3 mm thick. Mint State. Plain square edge. A final example of this classic Comitia Americana design. An unusual piece, with evidence of at least four strikes visible inside the reverse rim, giving the inner concentric steps of the rims a distorted

appearance on both sides. Lustrous mahogany brown with gold and rose highlights. A natural struck-through has left depressions in front of America's profile on the obverse, but aside from a light scuff atop the reverse rim, no significant post-striking flaws are seen. An interesting and attractive piece.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON AT COWPENS

The Acquisition:

When Thomas Jefferson returned home from Paris in the fall of 1789, he carried 17 medals with him. Eleven of them were silver strikes in a cased set for President George Washington (now the property of the Massachusetts Historical Society via Daniel Webster). Three of the 17 were gold: the Congressionally-awarded medals for General George Washington, General Anthony Wayne, and General Daniel Morgan. The other three were silver, authorized by Congress for presentation to John Stewart (by then deceased) and two heroes of Cowpens: William Washington and John Eager Howard. The last of the medals executed in Paris were all the work of Duvivier, bookending a series that began with Duvivier's medal for De Fleury.

The medal for William Washington lacks the paper trail that benefits so many of the others, but it was created in 1789 contemporary to Dupré's work on the Morgan and Jones medals. It is unknown which of the Cowpens medals (Washington or Howard) Duvivier completed first.

The Presentation:

Like the other heroes of Cowpens (and those of Stony Point), William Washington received his medal from President George Washington via a letter dated March 25, 1790. No copy of that letter is known to have survived. William Washington apparently didn't have the letter and medal in hand until significantly later, as his thank you reply wasn't sent until November 7: "Your Excellency's favor of March 25th accompanied with a Medal struck by order of the late Congress I have receiv'd. This flattering mark of respect confer'd on



me by the Representatives of my Country will make an indelible impression of Gratitude on my Mind."

Obverse: Lt. Col. Washington, mounted and gesturing forward with his sword, stands apart from the body of his troops but moves right to left before them. Two British soldiers lie dead before him. The main body of Washington's cavalry is seen at right, putting British cavalry to the chase at left. A Fame flies above Washington, carrying a palm of Victory and a laurel wreath. The legend GULIELMO WASHINGTON LEGIONIS EQUIT. PRAEFECTO means "William Washington, commander of the cavalry regiment." COMITIA AMERICANA appears in the exergue below. The original Congressional resolution called for the obverse to display "the charge made by him on the enemy's Cavalry, they wheeling, he charging; under his party the figures 80 under the enemy 250, with this Motto— *Virtute non Numeris valet*." While the legend was not retained, the general concept was.

Reverse: An unending wreath of laurel, festooned with internal ribbons at top and bottom, surrounds a seven-line legend: QUOD PARVA MILITUM MANU STRENUE PROSECUTUS HOSTES VIRTUTIS INGENITAE PRAECLARUM SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS XVII JAN. MDCCCLXXI. The legend is translated by Loubat as "Because, in vigorously pursuing the enemy with a handful of soldiers, he gave a noble example of innate courage at the Battle of Cowpens, January 17, 1781." The original Cowpens resolution requested a reverse inscription reading "*In honor of the gallant behaviour of Lt Col Wm Washington in the Action of 17th January 1781.*" The inscription, as written, came from France's Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, retaining much of the sense but none of the verbiage of the original resolution.



Lt. Colonel Washington at the Battle of Cowpens.

Silver Original William Washington at Cowpens Medal

The Dreyfuss Specimen



(Photo Enlarged)

2063

1781 William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. 46.3 mm, 768.6 grains. 3.3 - 3.5 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge. An unheralded rarity in this series, quite possibly one of just two in private hands in this composition. The surfaces are bright silver with reflective fields and a hint of gloss, suggesting a very thin layer of old lacquer. Little toning is present on either side, just some subtle pale violet and navy blue that deepens at the rims. The fields show significant evidence of handling, with an abundance of tiny marks and some trivial hairlines, each more notable on the obverse than reverse. A nearly horizontal nick left of the head of the flying Fame is the single most visible mark. A subtle rim bruise is found at the left side of the obverse exergue. The obverse rim shows some very delicate and careful filing, accomplished at the Paris Mint, mostly seen near 12:00 and below 3:00. On the reverse, the slight misalignment to 5:30 has left a thin unstruck area from below 9:00 to below 3:00. The die state is Adams state 2, later than the Washington-Webster specimen in the Massachusetts Historical Society, with an additional spalling pit near the ribbon end right of QUOD and a tiny pit left of VIRTUTIS.

We record just five total auction appearances of a silver William Washington medal that is either described as a plain edge striking or omits any reference to a later Paris Mint edge device: Bushnell (1882):1620, Hunter (1920):234, W.W.C. Wilson I (1925):811, Hans M.F. Schulman's sale of February 1973:741 (where a silver William Washington medal was described as depicting George Washington), and Dreyfuss (1986):5246. Of these four appearances, only the Wilson and Dreyfuss catalog took the care to illustrate

the specimen sold (or even describe it in something more than the most perfunctory terms). This is the Dreyfuss specimen, and the 1986 Dreyfuss sale is where Mr. Adams acquired it. As for the other appearances in 1882, 1920, 1925, and 1973, they could all represent this specimen or they could represent entirely discrete specimens. The Bushnell piece sold to "Chapman." It seems likely (though not certain) that it was the Bushnell specimen that later sold in the 1920 Hunter sale. The Wilson piece appears to show a light rim bruise at 3:00 on the obverse. The Adams Bentley census lists four known in silver: George Washington's own in the Massachusetts Historical Society, one in the "Mid-Atlantic Collection" whose metrology is not recorded, this specimen (i.e. "New England Collection"), and the "Western Collection", i.e. the Ford Collection. Alas, when John J. Ford Jr.'s magnificent Comitia Americana medal accumulation came to market in May 2006, no silver William Washington medal was included therein. Thus, even Adams and Bentley can account for no more than two in private hands.

Though bronze examples are relatively common in both original plain-edge form and later restrikes (from the original dies in Paris and the bell metal dies in Philadelphia), the William Washington is as much a rarity as a Gates or Morgan for those working on a Comitia Americana set in silver. It is rarer than De Fleury and far rarer than John Paul Jones or Washington Before Boston. Neither LaRiviere or Ford ever owned one, and no collector active today has ever had a chance to acquire any example but this one at auction.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Merena / Presidential Coin and Antique Co.'s sale of the David W. Dreyfuss Collection, April 1986, lot 5246.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



2064

1781 William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 45.8 mm, 615.8 grains. 3.3 - 3.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge. An exceptional Paris Mint specimen, showcasing Duvivier's designs in spectacularly well detailed form. The surfaces are ideal milk chocolate brown with pale blue and violet across the reflective fields. Only trivial contact marks are seen, along with an inert little speck below IN of WASHINGTON. The wire rim was deftly reduced by filing at the Paris Mint, with vestiges visible on both obverse and reverse.

Well struck and choice, just an exceptional piece. The die state is similar to the silver example that precedes this one, Adams state 2, a little later than George Washington's own in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Adams and Bentley reported 36 specimens in bronze in their census, making this one of the more numerous of the Comitia Americana medals in bronze. Despite this, finding a plain edge original this lovely is no easy task.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Coin Galleries' sale of July 1991, lot 3936.



2065

1781 William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 45.9 mm, 657.8 grains. 3.5 - 3.7 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge, witness line or collar mark at 11:00. An exceptional early die state specimen, with more deeply reflective fields than usually seen and superb visual appeal. Dark chocolate brown surfaces are enlivened by gold, blue, and violet highlights. The devices are perfectly struck and well detailed. An ancient India ink 17 is seen in shadow in the upper left obverse field, and a similar 20 retains its ink in the upper left reverse. The rims are barely filed, just at the outermost portion of the obverse rim and similarly subtly and deftly along the right side of the reverse. The fields are mostly free of marks, though we note a diagonal dig left of VIRTUTIS and a little rim tick above T of PRAEFECTO.

While the spalling marks align with Adams state 2, the collar mark on the edge dates this piece's production rather early in the striking sequence, as do the deeply mirrored fields. The triangular break on the collar is noted on the obverse side of the edge at the collar mark, just above G of WASHINGTON. This is among the earliest state copper strikings your cataloger has seen. A handsome piece, and a particularly desirable one.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from the Ted Craige estate in 1983. Earlier, from a source in Paris to John J. Ford Jr.; to Craige on September 25, 1966.

William Washington at Cowpens Medal Ex Pradeau Collection



2066

1781 William Washington at Cowpens medal. **Betts-594. Copper.** Original. Paris Mint. 46.4 mm, 697.6 grains. 3.4 - 3.7 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Plain square edge, witness line or collar mark at 11:00. Crisp light brown devices contrast with reflective fields toned iridescent rose, pale green, and violet. Well struck, attractive, and free of significant marks, but lightly cleaned long ago and

showing some subtle hairlines. Adams state 2, but early within it, struck from the two-part collar associated with the earliest originals. A good looking and ancient example of this historic issue.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Superior Stamp and Coin Company's sale of the Pradeau-Bothamley Collection, Part II, April 1971, lot 2838.

Silver Restrike William Washington at Cowpens Medal Original Dies



2067

1781 (i.e. 1860-1879) William Washington at Cowpens medal. **Betts-594. Silver. Restrike from original dies.** Paris Mint. 45.9 mm, 759.6 grains. 3.3 - 3.5 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Square edge marked with bee and ARGENT at 12:00. A later restrike from the original dies, but extremely rare in this composition. Silver gray with deeper toning around the rims and devices, reflective fields on both sides. Lightly polished but pleasing and natural in appearance. A little group of contact marks is noted in the left obverse field, and some trivial ones are scattered across the reverse. The reverse die is broken and shows a substantial cud from 10:30 to 12:30, lightly filed at the Paris Mint at the rim but otherwise allowed to bloom into full rounded relief.

This reverse die did not survive much beyond 1880 at the Paris Mint. Based upon the comparative population of the various generations

of Paris Mint restrikes, demand for this medal was stout before 1860 (before the Philadelphia Mint had produced any), then diminished thereafter. Pointing Hand edged restrikes, struck in Paris between 1845 and 1860, are plentiful, but those with later privy marks are quite scarce. Any of them are rare in silver, including the matte finish medals struck in the late 1890s and into the 20th century. No researcher has ever tackled the Paris Mint restrikes of this era to study populations and die states. Such work would be useful and would perhaps shine a light on the scarcity of these later issues coined from the original 18th century dies.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Spink's sale of June 1989, lot 407.

Choice “Gunmetal Dies” William Washington Medal Early Die State



2068

1781 (ca. 1863) William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594, Julian MI-8. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.1 mm, 837.4 grains. 4.0 - 4.1 mm thick. Gem Mint State. Plain squared edge. Rich glossy chocolate brown with mahogany undertones and satiny luster on both sides. An extremely attractive medal from the perspectives of both preservation and initial production. The die state is early, with the unique surface texture (resembling molded fiberglass or diamond plate) entirely intact, along with the die scratch from the T of WASHINGTON to the wing of the flying Fame described by Craig Sholley in his August 2018 *Numismatist* article “The Curious Tale of the Comitia Americana Gunmetal Restrikes” The rims have been gently filed to knock down the wire rim or “fin,” creating a rounded rim that leads to the squared edge. On this piece, a tiny rim mark is noted near 5:00 on the reverse that may be an errant file mark, as left at the mint. No substantial marks or post striking flaws are

noted. The die lapping (or filing) marks in the obverse exergue are extremely prominent, denoting this as an especially early die state. In later state, most of these fade until only two short spikes beneath the final A of COMITIA and the first A of AMERICANA remain.

The mintage from these dies is somewhat higher than other Philadelphia Mint Comitia Americana dies of the era. First sunk in 1863, these bell-metal dies lasted until at least 1884 and struck 77 medals, all in copper. The largest single year mintage was the initial 25 pieces in 1863. Ten more were made in 1864, five in 1866, ten in 1869, four in 1873, five in 1874, 16 in fiscal year 1879/80, and a final two in 1884/85. This piece’s die state suggests it was made during the first year or two these dies were in service. Its high quality of preservation makes it an especially desirable production from this rare issue.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of March 2007, lot 2217.

Fascinating “Gunmetal Dies” William Washington Medal Early Die State



2069

1781 (ca. 1863-85) William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594, Julian MI-8. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.2 mm, 729.0 grains. 4.6 - 4.7 mm thick. Mint State. Plain squared edge. A particularly interesting piece, one that so closely resembles an early Paris Mint striking on its face that it would easily mislead most experts. The die state is advanced, leaving the long die scratch from T of WASHINGTON to the wing of the flying Fame is no longer visible. The prominent lapping or filing lines in the obverse exergue are likewise gone, but the tell-tale spikes from the inside rim below the A of COMITIA and the first A of AMERICANA remain. The light mahogany color and satiny luster is clearly a U.S. Mint bronzed patina upon inspection, but it

is not far removed from the reflective light coppery surface of Paris Mint productions. The planchet thickness (thicker than Paris pieces) and diameter (narrower than Paris pieces) are giveaways here. A raised wire rim surrounds most of the reverse of this piece, with no evidence of filing to truncate it. The surfaces are free of major problems, though we note some darker toning splotches in the reverse wreath at 11:00 and 6:00. A fascinating piece for specialists, and a very attractive example of this Philadelphia Mint issue.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.

COMITIA AMERICANA

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



2070

1781 (ca. 1863-85) William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594, Julian MI-8. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. "gunmetal") transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.2 mm, 729.2 grains. 4.6 - 4.7 mm thick. Mint State. Plain squared edge. A final example from these dies. Lustrous deep mahogany with largely unbronzed tan edges. Good satiny luster and eye appeal persists despite some marks and some chatter on the upper obverse rim. A very prominent wire

rim surrounds the top of the reverse, and a less prominent wire rim is seen atop the obverse. Relatively late die state, with the die scratch from the base of T of WASHINGTON now gone, but the spikes in the lower obverse exergue remain. A highly collectible example, one of just 77 struck.

From the John W. Adams Collection.



2071

1781 (ca. 1888) William Washington at Cowpens medal. Betts-594, Julian MI-8. Copper. 1888 Reproduction dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.1 mm, 685.0 grains. 4.0 - 4.1 mm thick. Mint State. Plain squared edge. One of the rarest of all Comitia Americana issues, with a recorded mintage of just 16 pieces between the completion of these dies and 1904. This die pair replaced the "gunmetal" or bell-metal Washington dies that had served their purpose for two decades. Medium brown surfaces show violet and blue undertones against the reflective fields, with bold devices displaying a slightly more modern look and typeface compared to the Paris Mint dies. The font on these dies matches those on the REPRODUCTION 1881 Howard medals precisely. A short scratch and a small patch of surface verdigris are noted in

the vicinity of the flying Fame's feet. A few other very minor marks are present, including two tiny nicks on the high raised rounded rim on the obverse. The eye appeal is excellent overall, particularly so considering this variety's extraordinary rarity. Although Julian records the completion of these dies in 1888, none appear on the mintage report until the 1896/97 fiscal year, when two specimens were struck. Two more were produced in 1899/1900, four more in 1900/01, five in 1901/02, a single silver piece in 1902/03, and three more in bronze in 1903/04. None are present in the American Numismatic Society collection, and your cataloger recalls no more than a couple on the market over the last two decades.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Rare Legacy, November 2016.

JOHN EAGER HOWARD AT COWPENS

The Acquisition:

Along with the William Washington medal for Cowpens, and General George Washington's medal for the action at Dorchester Heights, this was among the very last batch of Comitia Americana medals completed. David Humphreys handed the Comitia Americana project off to Thomas Jefferson in an April 4, 1786 letter: "I have made no contracts for the other four, viz. for Genl. Washington's on the evacuation of Boston, for Morgan, Washington and Howard on the affair of the Cowpens, because the designs for them have not been in readiness for execution until the present time." Jefferson hired Pierre-Simon-Benjamin Duvivier to do all three of those mentioned; the fourth commission, for the Daniel Morgan medal, went to Augustin Dupré, who Jefferson preferred as the superior artist. Jefferson's initial contact with Duvivier appears to have come no earlier than the end of 1788, more than two and a half years after Humphreys' departure. Duvivier wrote to Jefferson four times in 1789: on January 5, February 23, April 11, and June 7. None of the letters have survived. But when Jefferson boarded a ship bound for Norfolk, Virginia in the fall of 1789, he carried with him all of Duvivier's works, including the silver medal for Howard.



Howard responded with the enthusiasm his military bearing could permit on June 21, 1790, from his home in Annapolis.

Sir,

I had the honor to receive your Excellency's letter of the 25th march with a medal ordered to be struck by the late Congress. my only object in the late war was to render any service in my power in the common cause, and my only hope of reward was that my conduct might meet the approbation of my Country; the obliging manner in which you are pleased to communicate this mark of approbation which my Country has expressed of my conduct, affords me the highest satisfaction.

The Presentation:

Jefferson turned Howard's medal over to Washington in March 1790, along with Washington's set of silver Comitia Americana medals and the unique Washington Before Boston medal in gold, as well as other medals bound for their Congressionally authorized recipients. Washington tucked Howard's silver medal into a letter dated March 25, 1790 and dispatched it by mail.

New York March 25th 1790

Sir,

You will receive with this a Medal struck by order of the late Congress in commemoration of your much approved conduct in the battle of the Cowpens—and presented to you as a mark of the high sense which your Country entertains of your services on that occasion.

This Medal was put into my hands by Mr Jefferson; and it is with singular pleasure that I now transmit it to you.

*I am, with very great esteem,
Your Excellency's most Obedt Servt
Go: Washington*

The John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal:

Obverse: As Col. Howard charges right with sword drawn, Victory reaches up to crown him with a laurel with her right hand and holds up a palm branch with her left. A British soldier carries his flag and runs off to the right, leaving his sword and tricorn hat behind. JOH EGAR HOWARD LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO means "John Eager Howard, who commanded the cavalry regiment." COMITIA AMERICANA is seen in the exergue below. Howard's actual middle name is Eager, not Egard, as spelled on the medal. The original draft of the Congressional resolution called for the obverse to show "the charge ordered and conducted by him in that critical moment when the enemy were thrown into disorder by the fire from the line under his Command, and the latter instantly charging, victory hovering over both Armies and dropping a branch of Laurel to be instantly snatched by Lt. Colonel Howard, with this Motto—*occasione oerupta*."

Reverse: An unending wreath of laurel, festooned with internal ribbons at top and bottom, surrounds a seven-line legend: QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACIEM SUBITO IRRUENS PRAECLARUM BELLICAE VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS XVII JAN. MDCCCLXXXI (By his impromptu charge at the enemy's wavering line, he showed an example of bravery in battle at Cowpens, January 17, 1781). This is an improvement upon Congress' proposed inscription: "In honor of the prompt and decisive conduct and gallantry of Lt Col Howard in the action of the victory obtained at the Cowpens 17th of January 1781."

Original Paris Mint John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal Silver



(Photo Enlarged)

2072

1781 John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. 46.1 mm, 708.0 grains. 3.4 - 3.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge, witness lines or collaring marks near 4:30 and 10:00 relative to the obverse. A beautiful example from the early die state, essentially identical to Washington's own in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Deeply reflective fields, typical of Paris Mint strikes, show bright luster and an elegant blend of blue toning with gold and violet highlights over light silver gray surfaces. The strike is crisp and the state of preservation is excellent, uncommonly fine for a first generation silver Comitia Americana medal. Only trivial flaws are noted, like an infinitesimal rim tick above E of LEGIONIS, two parallel scratches well hidden within the central obverse design at Victory's forearm and the flag tip below, a scattering of insignificant lines and contact points. The designs show a bold showcase for Duvivier's devices, with the successful rendering of Howard's equestrian heroism taking center stage while the somewhat clumsily punched legends hug the periphery. The medal has been well struck, and care was taken in Paris to reduce a wire rim or "fin," leaving some faint file marks around the obverse as a result, seen around the rim from about 5:00 to 10:00. The eye appeal is superb, particularly for an early issue that was distributed to non-numismatists who tended to use less care to preserve these medals.

The fast changing spalling, or chipping, of this obverse die serves as a waymarker for the die states of this medal. This one is early, with a small break above E of PEDITUM, a smaller break above the left side of T in that word, and a hard-to-see break embedded in the wreath two leaves right of the ribbon atop the reverse. The specimen at MHS is only trivially earlier, if at all.

While the Ford sale estimated "there may be as few as 10 of these," we believe this medal is significantly rarer. The Adams and Bentley census accounted for six specimens, including those impounded in the Massachusetts Historical Society and Maryland Historical Society. Ford and Dreyfuss had original strikings in silver. Tony Lopez has reported a census of seven known, though one of those seven gives us pause and another has not been seen.

The historical record of sales of known silver specimens is thin. The Bushnell specimen in silver was unplated; it sold for \$1.55 to "Ahlborn," presumably Boston dealer Henry rather than Swedish

engraver Lea. Richard Winsor's, sold by the Chapmans in 1895, may have been the Bushnell piece. It was likewise unplated and brought \$2. The only other silver Howard the Chapmans — or any other 19th century American numismatic auction firm — ever sold was offered in S. Hudson Chapman's sale of June 1917. It brought \$3. None of these were described as original or restrike. The piece in Tom Elder's September 1938 sale, offered as lot 442, was described as an original in silver. We find no other American auction offering until Ford's piece sold in 2006. Acquired by Ford from Paris dealer Jean Vinchon, it was reoffered in our Philadelphia Americana sale of September 2009.

Two silver Howards were included in the Adams Collection; only one is being offered. The other piece was hallmarked with matte surfaces, square edges that showed significant post-production filing, a slightly smaller diameter, and some loss of detail versus the piece here offered, suggesting enough red flags of a potential cast to give us pause. Fifteen years ago, your cataloger was dispatched to the Maryland Historical Society to view their specimen, said to be Howard's own. Your cataloger was shown a piece that he concluded at the time was a cast (though, without the benefit of a photographic memory or actual photographs, I couldn't say for sure that the piece was of a similar character to the second Adams piece). Another researcher later visited the Maryland Historical Society and was shown a piece that he wholeheartedly endorsed as an authentic striking; the institution had shown two different specimens to two different people a few years apart. This situation is described in Adams and Bentley's note 241 and in Tony Lopez's article for the September 2008 *MCA Advisory* on the Howard medal. The second Adams piece is listed in Adams and Bentley as Census #4, but the diameter and weight given for #4 matches the Dreyfuss specimen. The metrological data for the second Adams specimen match the listing for #5.

While these dies remained in use in Paris for the whole of the 19th century, plain edge silver originals are more elusive than is typically believed. Even silver restrikes are rare. A specimen like this one, struck from an early die state that suggests it was produced before Jefferson left Paris, is a rarity of particular interest.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson.

Bronze Original John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal
Early Die State



(Photo Enlarged)

2073

1781 John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 46.0 mm, 779.0 grains. 4.3 - 4.6 mm thick. Mint State. Plain concave edge, witness lines or collaring marks near 4:30 and 10:00 relative to the obverse. An especially early striking in copper, the earliest of the Howard medals in the Adams Collection in this composition, struck from the same state as the Adams silver piece in lot 2072 and the Washington silver piece in the Massachusetts Historical Society. The surfaces are rich medium chocolate brown with strong luster and lightly reflective fields retaining elegant violet-blue toning. Some trivial marks and lines

are seen, typical of early issues, with a thin nearly horizontal scratch at the right side of the obverse and a vertical contact mark parallel to the palm branch. Some hints of peripheral verdigris harm nothing, including a little patch above TO of PRAEFECTO. The edges are sound and the rims show the careful filing of these early Paris Mint productions. A piece of fine quality and charming visual appeal, more elusive as an original than generally given credit for due to the plenitude of later restrikes from these dies.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Leonard Finn, December 1983.

Choice Bronze John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal

Early Die State Original



2074

1781 John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 46.0 mm, 685.0 grains. 3.6 - 3.9 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain concave edge, witness lines or collaring marks near 1:00 and 7:00 relative to the obverse. Another lovely example struck from an early state of the dies, nicely showcasing the edge concavity of these very early strikes. Rose, navy blue, and pale violet toning highlights the reflective fields and contrasts with the milk chocolate devices. Crisply defined throughout and carefully produced, this medal retains some trace of the fin (usually

called a wire rim) atop the obverse despite delicate efforts to file it down. The surfaces are notably free of marks or flaws, though an old ink inventory number 18 is visible in the left obverse field and the reverse shows 21 left of QUOD and 18 right of it. The die state is a trifle later than the previous lot, with the sea cucumber shaped cud above PED near 12:00 on the obverse looking somewhat more well fed.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Paris, via John J. Ford, Jr., September 1966.

Another Original John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal

Bronze



2075

1781 John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 46.4 mm, 657.2 grains. 3.1 - 3.9 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain squared edge, witness line or collaring mark near 11:00 relative to the obverse. A superb example, struck from a slightly later die state than the previous, on a slightly larger module planchet and with a different collar. The surfaces show pleasing and lightly reflective luster, with subtle pastel toning in the fields contrasting with the milk chocolate brown devices. Typical

Paris Mint rim filing is seen atop the obverse and around much of the periphery of the reverse, which is aligned a bit toward 5:00. High grade and free of problems with just a little speck within the second C of the date. The breaks atop the obverse, above PED and adjacent letters, have advanced measurably.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Coin Galleries' sale of July 1991, lot 3937.

Exquisite Silver John Eager Howard at Cowpens Medal
Original Dies, Restrike



2076

1781 (ca. 1841-42) John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595. Silver. Original dies, restrike. Paris Mint. 46.4 mm, 768.8 grains. 3.3 - 3.7 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain squared edge, witness line or collaring mark near 3:00 relative to the obverse, ARGENT with anchor insignia at 6:00. An elegantly toned silver restrike, struck between October 1841 and September 1842, rare as a silver striking from the original dies but even rarer as one of this generation. Deep blue and pastel violet intermingle over rich silver gray surfaces, with hints of champagne across the reverse. Aside from a thin coat of lacquer, this piece has been ideally preserved, with just a few wispy hairlines and no significant flaws. The toning and eye appeal are little short of magnificent. The die state is only trivially later than the unmarked originals, and the short-lived use

of the anchor privy mark allows this medal to be a useful line of demarcation on the die state continuum. The production of this medal is somewhat distinctive from earlier strikings, with raised rims around both sides, a different collar, and slightly broader module, though still using Duvivier's original designs. Any silver Howard medal is rare. A much later (and much less attractive) ca. 1860-79 striking brought \$3,818 in our November 2015 sale. This one brought \$7,800 when offered in our catalog of November 2017. As a silver restrike of this vintage, it may be unique. Its eye appeal among silver strikes of any vintage is certainly unsurpassed in our experience.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of November 2017, lot 17.

Choice “Gunmetal Dies” John Eager Howard Medal

Struck from Bell-Metal Dies at the Philadelphia Mint



2077

1781 (ca. 1871) John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595, Julian MI-9. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.0 mm, 758.4 grains. 4.5 - 4.7 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain squared edge. An attractive early striking from this first Philadelphia Mint emission of the John Eager Howard type. The surfaces are a deep, rich, even mahogany, with just a glimmer of coppery red visible at the peripheries. The surfaces are particularly nice for a “gunmetal” (i.e. bell-metal) production, glowing and satiny, more lustrous than glossy. The fields show just a few positively minuscule marks, as do the high raised shelf-like rims that give the “gunmetal” issues a distinctively round look. The only marks to note are tiny rim ticks at 12:00 and 6:00 on the reverse, and another above N of LEGIONIS on the obverse. Sholley describes three vertical die lines through the ribbon atop the reverse that designate early die state specimens, and they are easily seen here.

According to Julian, the Howard “gunmetal” dies were prepared in 1868, but they don’t appear to have been put into use until 1871, when a grand total of three were struck. Five more were struck in 1873, another five in 1874, 10 in 1875, and 13 in 1879. It appears that all Howard medals struck at the Philadelphia Mint after that were coined from newly cut copy dies (as in the final Howard medal here offered) which, despite being engraved REPRODUCTION 1881, weren’t coined until 1884 at the earliest. Based upon the published records, the total mintage of John Eager Howard medals from the bell-metal dies appears to be just 36 pieces, all in bronze, placing this among the rarest medals struck by the United States Mint. Few have survived in more choice condition than this one.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection.

Rare “Gunmetal Dies” John Eager Howard Medal

Philadelphia Mint



2078

1781 (ca. 1871) John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595, Julian MI-9. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.0 mm, 654.4 grains. 3.9 - 4.3 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain squared edge. Another pleasing example, struck from an early state of these dies. Glossy smooth surfaces show a delightful bronzed patina that resembles tortoiseshell under magnification, with the mahogany surfaces retaining good luster and gold and blue highlights. The devices are sharp and the eye appeal is good, though a slight area of

discoloration is noted at FECTO near 3:00 on the obverse. Scattered light contact marks are seen on both sides, along with a few on the rims, including one above R of the (misspelled) word EGAR on the obverse. The reverse is mostly surrounded by a wire rim.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich, December 2016. Earlier, from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.’s 42nd Sale, June 1987, lot 371.

Rare “Gunmetal Dies” John Eager Howard Medal

Philadelphia Mint



2079

1781 (ca. 1871) John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595, Julian MI-9. Copper. Bell-metal (i.e. “gunmetal”) transfer dies. Philadelphia Mint. 45.0 mm, 730.8 grains. 4.4 - 4.6 mm thick. **About Uncirculated.** Plain squared edge. A final example of this rare United States Mint production, struck from an advanced state of these short-lived dies. The three vertical die lines described by Sholley have weakened, just the ones on either end visible. A wire rim surrounds the top of the reverse and is visible in a few spots on

the obverse. The devices are sharp and well defined, and the reverse shows attractive satiny luster over steel brown surfaces. The obverse shows evidence of cleaning, with some hairlines visible on orange-peach fields above the central devices. A desirable example of this scarce issue.

Please see our Note on Bell Metal dies on page 12.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Presidential Coin and Antique Co.’s 61st Sale, November 1996, lot 306.

Very Rare U.S. Mint Dies John Eager Howard Medal

REPRODUCTION 1881



2080

1781 (ca. 1884-1904) John Eager Howard at Cowpens medal. Betts-595, Julian MI-9. Copper. 1881 Reproduction dies. Philadelphia Mint. 44.6 mm, 742.0 grains. 4.3 - 4.6 mm thick. **Gem Mint State.** Plain squared edge. Choice even mahogany brown patina over smooth surfaces rich with glossy luster. Essentially perfect, with just a single tiny mark beneath EC of PRAEFECTO. Firmly struck with no wire rim (or “fin”), but ideally centered with rounded rims leveling off to the square edge. An underrated rarity and an extraordinarily elusive issue, struck from a copy die made in 1879 and an obverse produced in 1881 (with REPRODUCTION 1881 noted in the obverse exergue, identical to the copy dies of the Decatur medal made the same year). The “gunmetal” obverse survived long enough to be married to the copy reverse, producing 13 examples from that muling. In 1881, that die was replaced with this one, but this die pair was not put into use until the 1884/85 fiscal year, when a grand total of two medals were struck. Seven

more followed in 1896/97, eight more in 1901/02, and three in 1903/04, for a total of 20 medals struck before the end of 1904. While the modern yellow “peanut” bronze 20th century U.S. Mint list Howard medals also use a REPRODUCTION 1881 obverse, the total mintage in the historic Julian-era appears to be just those 20 pieces. The rarity of this medal in the modern marketplace buttresses that statistic. Among the thousands of numismatic catalogs entered into the Newman Numismatic Portal, there are just three appearances of a Howard medal described as being struck from the REPRODUCTION 1881 die: our 2003 Stack’s Americana sale, our Bowers and Merena sale of November 1998, and Abner Kreisberg’s sale of October 1966. There was another in the 1981 Garrett IV sale, for a total of four appearances. This medal may be as rare as an Original Howard in silver!

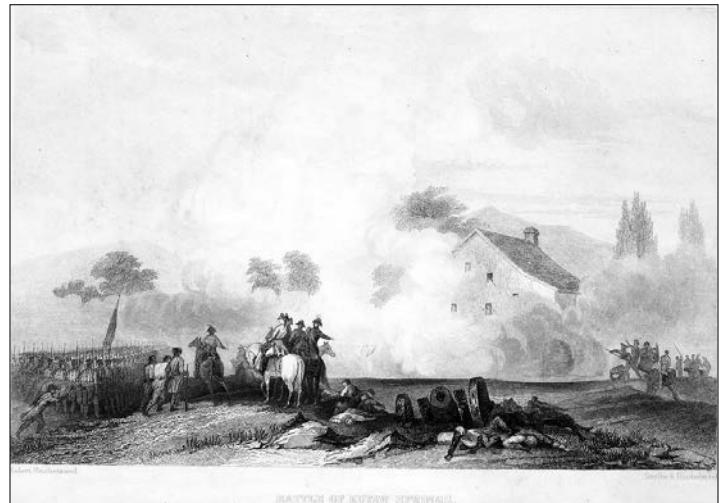
From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Richard Gross, February 2017.

THE BATTLE OF EUTAW SPRINGS

The Action:

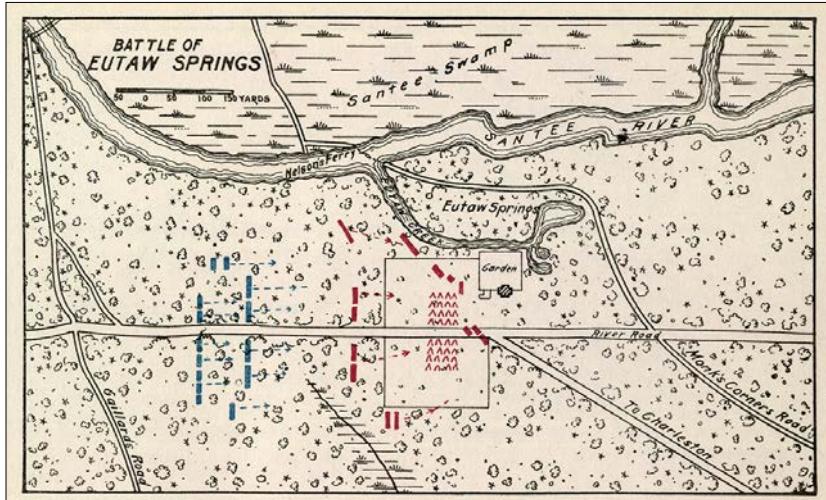
After Guilford Court House turned into a draw that was too costly for Cornwallis to do anything but regroup far to the east, Nathanael Greene turned south. Washington's most trusted former deputy continued his plan to harass and divide the British forces that remained in South Carolina, by picking his spots and ensuring that resupply and communication lines with British-held Charleston were difficult to maintain. He met British commander Lord Rawdon back in Camden, where a young ruffian named Andrew Jackson was being held prisoner. Greene suffered a mild defeat at the indecisive Battle of Hobkirk's Hill in April 1780. Rawdon evacuated Camden soon thereafter, knowing he was surrounded by American Continentals and local militia on all sides. Greene turned inland, meeting a newly reinforced force under Rawdon at Ninety-Six on the Carolina frontier in June 1780. The summer passed quietly. Rawdon returned to Charleston, then left for England — and was captured by deGrasse at sea. Lt. Col. James Stewart was left in charge of the British military presence in South Carolina. Nathanael Greene regained strength, attracted reinforcements, and waited.

His moment to strike came during the dog days of late August. Francis Marion, the legendary Swamp Fox, found his way to Greene's position, meeting forces under Lt. Col. Light-Horse Harry Lee (a Comitia Americana medal recipient for Paulus Hook), militia under General Andrew Pickens, and the seasoned troops commanded by Comitia Americana medal recipients Lt. Col. John Eager Howard and Lt. Col. William Washington. Greene took more than 2,000 men onto the field at Eutaw Springs, most of them well experienced and ready to fight.



Stewart's regulars and loyalists were almost as numerous as Greene's forces when they first encountered each other on the morning of September 8. Loyalist Capt. John Coffin, a Boston native (whose brother Sir Isaac Coffin was responsible for the [1827] Tristram Coffin medal cataloged as Betts-533), was the first to find the Patriot forces, while out on the morning forage. By 9 AM, battle lines had formed. Before long, both sides were disorganized and scattered. William Washington had fallen prisoner into British hands. By the time the smoke cleared, Greene had taken more than 500 British prisoners as well. Both sides held portions of the field when the skies opened with rain, and both had lost dozens of dead and a couple hundred wounded. Stewart withdrew to a position closer to the coast. Greene controlled the interior.

The battle had been something of a draw, but Greene's strategy had won. He had kept Cornwallis' Southern force divided and occupied British attention in the Carolinas. He kept his army together, and he controlled most of inland South Carolina. As Greene played cat and mouse in the Southern Department, Cornwallis marched to his doom in Virginia. He arrived in Yorktown on August 1, a month before Eutaw Springs. When Greene's army left the field on September 8, the French Navy had taken control of the Chesapeake, sailed up the James River, and essentially sealed Cornwallis' fate. Within a week, Washington and Lafayette arrived on Virginia's Middle Peninsula. The game was up. Greene had played his part flawlessly, and helped assure American victory. Congress voted him a gold medal barely a week after Cornwallis laid down his arms for the last time.



Map of the Battle of Eutaw Springs. (Library of Congress)

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

The Resolution:

Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to Major General Greene, for his wise, decisive and magnanimous conduct in the action of the 8th of September last, near the Eutaw Springs, in South Carolina; in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory over the British army commanded by Colonel Stewart:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigades, and Delaware battalion of continental troops, for the unparalleled bravery and heroism by them displayed, in advancing to the enemy through an incessant fire, and charging them with an impetuosity and ardor that could not be resisted:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the officers and men of the legionary corps and artillery, for their intrepid and gallant exertions during the action:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the brigade of North Carolina, for their resolution and perseverance in attacking the enemy, and sustaining a superior fire:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the officers and men of the state corps of South Carolina, for the zeal, activity and firmness by them exhibited throughout the engagement:

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to the officers and men of the militia, who formed the front line in the order of battle, and sustained their post with honor, propriety and a resolution worthy of men determined to be free.

Resolved, That two pieces of field Ordnance be presented to Major General Greene by the Commander in Chief, with a motte engraved "from the United States in Congress Assembled to Major Genl. Greene, in honour of the Victory obtained under his Command near the Eutaw Springs in So Carolina on the 8th. September A. D. 1781.

Resolved, That a Sword be presented to Colo Williams of the Maryland line for his great military skill and uncommon exertions on this occasion.

Resolved, That a British standard be presented to Major General Greene, as an honorable testimony of his merit, and a golden medal emblematical of the battle and victory aforesaid:

That Major General Greene be desired to present the thanks of Congress, to Captains Pierce and Pendleton, Major Hyme and Captain Shubrick, his aids de camp, in testimony of their particular activity and good conduct during the whole of the action:

That a sword be presented to Captain Pierce, who bore the general's despatches, giving an account of the victory, and that the Board of War take order herein.

Resolved, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to Brigadier General Marion, of the South Carolina militia, and the officers and men under his Com for his wise, gallant and decided conduct, in defending the liberties of his country; and particularly for his prudent and intrepid attack on a body of the British troops, on the 30th day of August last; and for the distinguished part he took in the battle of the 8th of September.

— Continental Congress Resolution of October 29, 1781

The Acquisition:

Even though Greene's heroic actions at Eutaw Springs were the latest to earn the honor of a Congressional medal, his medal was the second one delivered, following only the one Franklin finished so quickly for De Fleury and Stony Point. Franklin finished only that first effort; David Humphreys bested him by one, seeing only this medal and the one for Horatio Gates through to completion.

It was a coup that Humphreys was able to hire the uber-talented Augustin Dupré to accomplish Greene's medal. It would be the first of three Comitia Americana medals Dupré would engrave, followed by the medals for Morgan and Jones, though Dupré would gain lasting American fame for his *Libertas Americana* medal.

On November 19, 1785, Humphreys and Dupré signed a contract for the completion of the Nathanael Greene medal, requiring Dupré to produce an obverse depicting a portrait of General Greene and a reverse with "Victory treading under her feet broken arms, with the legend and the exergue," strike 24 medals exactly, and deliver the dies and medals to Humphreys upon their completion. John Adams, holding the Congress' European pursestrings in Paris, wrote home to John Jay to report "Humphreys brought with him, an order upon

Mr Grand for Money to pay for a Medal to be Struck for each of the Generals Washington, Gates and Green ... As We Supposed it to be the Undoubted Intention of Congress that these Small Presents should be made in honour of those great Events and immortal Actions, I consented to draw for the Money upon the Same Bankers to the Amount of about a Thousand Pounds. this also I hope will meet the Approbation of Congress."

Dupré ran into a few snags along the way. He asked Humphreys to get him a new likeness of Greene after the painted miniature wasn't working as proper inspiration for an engraved profile portrait. Humphreys passed the request along to Secretary of War Henry Knox in May 1786. The lengthy delay Humphreys tolerated from Dupré was apparently one of the principal reasons it fell to Duvivier, not Dupré, to accomplish General Washington's medal, the first authorized and ostensibly most important Comitia Americana medal of them all.

A year passed, during which Humphreys left Paris. Thomas Jefferson took over, and on February 14, 1787, he wrote to John Jay that he was in receipt of Greene's gold medal, 23 examples in bronze, and the dies, which he reported he had "sealed up" and "shall retain till I am honored with [Congress's] orders." A month later, Jefferson's

secretary William Short packed up the lot and sent them home, with an update for John Jay:

Agreeably to Mr. Jefferson's directions on his leaving Paris, I have the honor of forwarding to Your Excellency, the medal engraved for Genl. Greene, under the resolution of Congress. There is one of gold and twenty three of bronze, all of which are committed to the care of Mr. Walton of New York, who sails in the French Packet the 25th. of this month. The medal for Genl. Gates ordered by Congress and contracted for by Colo. Humphries is not yet finished; but will certainly be in time to be sent by the May Packet.

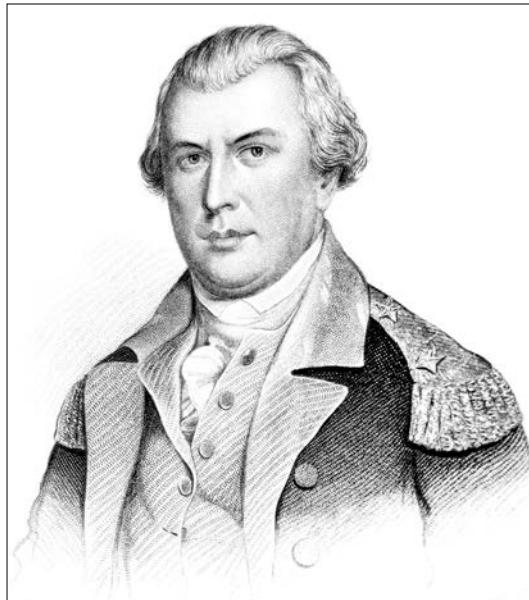
Alas, Greene had passed to his reward on June 19, 1786.

The Presentation:

Like John Stewart, Nathanael Greene's passing before his medal was completed required Congress to find a next of kin to whom his medal could be presented. The gold medal and its dies arrived in the United States and were delivered into the hands of Arthur St. Clair, the President of Congress on July 6, 1787. On August 9, St. Clair sent the gold medal to Jeremiah Wadsworth, the famous Connecticut financier and patriot who served as Greene's executor.

St. Clair's letter was sold as lot 378 in Stan V. Henkels' April 1891 sale of Washington Relics consigned by Lawrence Washington, Bushrod Washington, and Thomas B. Washington, though how the letter came to be in their possession is unclear. The catalog excerpts the letter as follows:

It is much to be regretted, and I do most sincerely regret, that General Greene did not survive to receive this further testimony of the sense his country had of his services, particularly of the gallant action at the Eutaw. The memory of it, however, will be thereby long preserved, and it cannot fail to be very acceptable to his family. And when the story is related to his children, and the design of the medal explained to them, as it will be, whilst their



Nathanael Greene, engraving by R. Peale.

veneration for their father is increased, a sense of gratitude and affection for their country, thus careful to accord his Glory, must be raised in their tender minds, and the generous resolution instantly formed to step forward in its service in the same honorable faith, should it ever be necessary, with the honest hope of meriting like rewards."

The paper trail goes silent after that, though most sources agree that Wadsworth passed the medal along to Kitty Greene, the general's fetching young widow, then just 32 years old. Julian appears to be the only source for the claim that Wadsworth also presented Ms. Greene the original dies. Whether she received the dies or not, they have not been seen since. Greene's gold medal survives, the property of the state of Rhode Island, on deposit at the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs Medal:

Obverse: A portrait of Greene in profile facing left, wearing his military uniform but also draped (a symbol of his recent passing?), surrounded by the legend NATHANIELI GREEN EGREGIO DUCI COMITIA AMERICANA or "To Nathanael Greene, distinguished leader, from the American Congress." This is the only Comitia Americana medal to incorporate the words COMITIA AMERICANA into a non-exergual inscription

Reverse: In the words of the Humphreys-Dupré contract of 1785, "Victory treading under her feet broken arms," including flags, a fasces, a broken sword, a split shield, a helmet, and a broken arrow, along with an olive branch. Around the top periphery, SALUS REGIONUM AUSTRALIUM or "Safety in the Southern regions. In the exergue, HOSTIBUS AD EUTAW DEBELLATIS DIE VIII SEPT MDCCLXXXI, meaning "The enemy utterly defeated at Eutaw, September 8, 1781." The signature DUPRE is hidden above the left side of the exergual line.

Original Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs Medal

One of 23 Struck in 1787



(Photo Enlarged)



2081

1781 Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs medal. Betts-597. Copper, tinned. Original. Paris Mint. 57.0 x 56.7 mm, 1167.6 grains. 4.2 - 4.7 mm thick. Extremely Fine. Plain concave edge, witness lines or collaring marks near 9:00 relative to the obverse. An unusual and important example of this rarity. Apparently struck three times, with significant spread among the multiple strikes visible among the legends of the obverse, an overstep during production that caused the planchet to split near 11:00 on the obverse and has made this specimen a full millimeter broader than other examples studied. The surfaces are silver-gray with underlying copper tones, and some trivial surface granularity, all byproducts of the process by which this piece was "silvered" or coated in tin to give it a silvery appearance. The detail is superb on both sides, the silvering nearly complete (if thin), and no substantial defects are seen, just a few marks and a single long vertical scratch in the left reverse field. The edge shows some marks and scratches, invisible from either side. Other Greene medals studied, including the 2001 LaRiviere specimen and the 2011 Lt. Col. Lewis Morris example, had similar business on the edges, suggestive of an ill-fitting and amateurish collar. This specimen's semi-broadstruck nature and planchet split further the suspicion of these striking problems. Alan Stahl described "vise marks" on the ANS specimen, apparently an indication of the same phenomenon.

The obverse shows two small rim cuds, one below NA of NATHANIELI, another above LI of that word. The tiny raised lumps left from die spalling along the internal rim below M of REGIONUM match those seen on the Massachusetts Historical Society silver piece, as well as others seen. Reverse buckling, seen atop the flags and left of Victory's midsection, is distinctive; this reverse die must have failed very quickly indeed, as it was never again put into use after 1787.

The original dies for this medal apparently struck fewer than 30 medals: Greene's own gold, Washington's silver, and 23 specimens

in bronze that were transported to the United States along with the dies in 1787. A silver example is in the enigmatic (but nearly complete) set in the collection of Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum. Another silver one was sold in the June 1855 Bangs sale that has since disappeared into the ether; perhaps this example was once more convincingly silver in appearance?

The copper medals, like this one, that were sent to the United States in 1787 had a very particular purpose, as enunciated by a resolution of the Continental Congress of October 26, 1787: "Ordered that the Secretary of the United States for the Department of foreign Affairs transmit one of the copper medals struck in Honor of General Greene to each of the said General's Aides, who acted during his Command in the Southern Department." John Jay sent one such aide, Lt. Col. Lewis Morris, a copper medal in February 1788. Apparently delayed by ill health since the October 1787 resolution, he wrote to Morris:

It gives me pleasure to have an opportunity of transmitting to you, by Order of Congress, a copy of the Medal struck by their Direction in Honor of the late General Greene. A variety of circumstances conspire to render this mark of public attention acceptable to you, though I am persuaded that none among them will more immediately affect your Feelings than the Relation it bears to that great Man whose loss you in particular and the people of America in general have great Reason to regret and lament.

Presumably all or most of the 23 copper specimens were distributed similarly. Most of those seen show evidence of non-numismatic handling, indicating that these pieces were not struck for museum collections or contemporary numismatists, but for distribution to a non-collector audience.

Though the Maryland Historical Society reported having one in 1850, and the New York State Library inventoried one in 1857 (along with obverse and reverse clichés), the earliest auction appearance

of a copper Greene medal appears to have been Ed Cogan's sale of January 1876. In the description of lot 844, which he described as "a trifle nicked," the so-called Godfather of the American Coin Trade noted it was "the only original medal I remember to have offered for years." It brought \$33, an alarmingly high sum. The piece in Henry Sampson's February 1884 sale was reserved at \$25, again an extremely strong price indicative of a great rarity. The one W. Elliot Woodward offered in the January 1881 Jenks sale, lot 1491, was described as bronze but brought only \$1.60, assuring modern scholars that the piece was detected as an electrotype.

Interestingly, this is not the only silvered example known. Bushnell (1882) lot 1625 sold for \$37 to Cogan for Richard Winsor. It sold again in the 1895 Winsor sale (lot 1269) for \$30, then reappeared in the W.W.C. Wilson sale as lot 812 for \$56. With its distinctive scratches, it is most assuredly a different piece. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

Other examples sold in the 1933 Senter sale, where the piece tossed into the large group sold as lot 24 was noted as "a struck medal and original" in Henry Chapman's personal copy; Chapman bought the lot. Henry Chapman also handled one in the 1914 George W. Parsons sale, lot 2137. His brother Samuel Hudson Chapman was the buyer at \$27. The only one S.H. Chapman ever sold at auction (perhaps the same piece?) was offered in June 1917, lot 645, described as one of four known and "never restruck or counterfeited by our mint."

When LaRiviere's sold in 2001, bringing \$14,950 despite its cleaning, none had been offered in a generation. Ford's triplicate offering (!) represented more than 10% of the entire mintage in copper — and a century's worth of held-back inventory. The Adams and Bentley census lists 12 pieces in this composition, half of which are impounded: American Numismatic Society, Smithsonian Institution, British Museum, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Boston Public Library, and the Rhode Island Historical Society. One of the six held privately (Census #8) was discovered by Mr. Adams to be an electrotype; it is included in this sale. The LaRiviere piece and the Lt. Col. Lewis Morris piece (from our September 2011 sale at \$86,250) do not appear on the list, leaving a census of privately held at seven pieces. The most recent auction offering, our August 2012 sale of the example previously sold as lot 223 in Ford XIV, brought \$44,062.50.

The Adams example, pedigreed to Bowers and Ruddy's New York Public Library sale, may trace its provenance back to the heart of the former NYPL collection: the cabinet formed by Thomas Addis Emmet in the mid-19th century. This appears to be only its second recorded auction appearance.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Bowers and Ruddy's sale of the New York Public Library Collection, October 1982, lot 2632.

Important Nathanael Greene Obverse Cliché Produced by Dupré in 1787



2082

1781 (i.e. ca. January-February 1787) Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs obverse cliché. As Betts-597. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 55.6 x 55.4 mm, 455.8 grains. 1.8 - 2.8 mm thick. Very Fine, twice holed. Plain trimmed edge. Paper backed, with fiber covering most of the surface. Holed inside the rim at 12:00 and 6:00, as if once mounted. Attractive and even pewter gray with hard, glossy surfaces. A bit worn on the high points, somewhat wavy in the fields, and showing an old scratch in the middle of the left field, but actually very attractive overall.

This is the only obverse splasher for this medal we have encountered in private hands. There are others in the historical record: the Chapman brothers catalogued one in their April 1886 sale as lot 2030, described as "Artist's proof in lead of obv. Bent. Very Fine. Unique. Medal extremely rare." At a sales price of 20 cents, it's tough to tell if it was just a lead cast of the obverse or an actual cliché. The set of clichés sold in Henry Chapman's June 1911 Charles Morris



sale, lot 574, didn't get much love either; they brought a dime for the pair. Alas, we encounter no others that have ever sold. There is a really beautiful obverse splasher in the American Philosophical Society collection, and the 1857 New York State Library inventory records an obverse shell in tin, but no other examples have come to your cataloger's attention.

As a product of Dupré's design process, likely intended for the eyes of Thomas Jefferson or one of his colleagues, this piece has a fascinating history. Considering that we have no idea how the set of tin clichés Jefferson brought home for James Madison was mounted and displayed, we can't help but wonder if this might not be one of them.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 225. Earlier, from the Ted Craig Estate on October 4, 1982.

Dupré's Own Nathanael Greene Reverse Cliché

Retained in Dupré's Collection until 2014

Unique in Private Hands



2083

1781 (i.e. ca. January–February 1787) Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs reverse cliché. As Betts-597. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 51.3 x 51.0 mm, 215.4 grains. 1.8 - 2.8 mm thick. Choice Extremely Fine. Plain trimmed edge. Backed with paper over a crescent-shaped portion of the reverse periphery with French-language type visible but incomplete. Carefully trimmed to the tops of the peripheral legend, removing the rim. Toned deep gray with lustrous lighter silver gray around the devices and legends. Superbly well preserved by the artist himself (and his descendants), with no damage and only the merest hint of high point wear.

This is the only privately held reverse cliché of Dupré's medal for Nathanael Greene known to us, though one was apparently offered in lot 574 of Henry Chapman's June 1911 Charles Morris sale. One was also listed among the collection of the New York State Library in 1857. None was present in the Ford Collection, and the only one we know of in any modern institution is the holed example in the Musée Carnavalet in France.

Dupré's entire collection of drawings, clichés, struck medals, letters, and more was preserved by his son Narcisse. Portions of the collection were sold in the late 19th century to the Boston Public Library, American Philosophical Society, and the Musée de Blerancourt in France, but much was retained, including the original reverse sketch for the Greene medal and this perfectly produced cliché. That this essentially disposable form of Dupré's artwork was deemed attractive enough by its creator to keep is the highest recommendation we could offer. It is, in the words of our consignor, "exquisite." It also appears to be positively unique in private hands.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, May 2014. Earlier, from the personal collection of Augustin Dupré; Dupré Estate; Narcisse Dupré, by descent, January 1833; Augustin Dupré (grandson of the engraver), by descent; legatee of Augustin Dupré II and their descendants, by descent; Bonham's sale of the Archive of Augustin and Narcisse Dupré, April 2014, lot 1.

Fascinating and Early Nathanael Green Electrotype



2084

1781 (ca. 1842?) Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs electrotype. As Betts-597. Copper electrotype shells over lead. Electrotype copy. Unknown maker (Philadelphia Mint?). 59.4 mm, 2213.2 grains. 5.8 - 6.2 mm thick. Choice Extremely Fine, nearly as made. Plain filed edge. An alarmingly large electrotype! Both broad in diameter and of great heft, this piece's workmanship resembles that seen on the first of the Anthony Wayne electrotypes offered earlier in this sale. A dramatic added rim around the obverse and reverse designs have given this the rough dimensions of a hockey puck. The fields show the usual waxy gloss of an electrotype, but also the typical wavy unevenness, lack of fine detail, and occasional added detail. The maker of this electrotype created raised file marks beneath Victory's foot that resemble those seen among the Wayne electrotype's legends. Just as we found our consignor's theory that Franklin Peale had created his Wayne electrotype at the Philadelphia Mint in the early 1840s persuasive, we suspect the same origin of

this one. The surfaces are pleasing light brown, mostly flawless but for some verdigris at Greene's hair ribbons. The workmanship is excellent if a touch crude; electrotypists became much more deft at their craft as the 19th century progressed. This is not an item that should fool anyone into thinking it's real.

With only 23 bronze specimens produced, demand for Nathanael Greene medals quickly overwhelmed the available supply. The U.S. Mint did not cut copy dies until 1886, leaving several decades of active collectors left with no choice but to find one of the originals or satisfy themselves with an electrotype. The finest of these electrotypes — pieces like this one — became so desirable that collectors even had cast copies of them made, such as the one in the next lot.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.

A Cast of a Nathanael Greene Medal Electrotype

When Copies are Copied, Originals Are Rare



2085

1781 (after 1842) cast copy of a Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs electrotype. As Betts-597. Cast in copper or copper over lead. Unknown maker. 59.4 mm, 2486.4 grains. 6.3 - 6.8 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated, nearly as made. Plain filed edge. A beautiful piece with a rich dark mahogany patina, exceptionally well made for what it is. On the other hand, easily the silliest piece in this collection and a testimony to the mania of Comitia Americana medal enthusiasts: this is a fake of a fake, a copy of a copy, a replica of a replica made desirable because the originals are so very rare. The craftsmanship of this piece is astoundingly good, but the manner in which it was made is still discernible by

the fine granularity of the surface and scattered raised artifacts, two aspects that indicate casting. While the fine details are not perfectly crisp, they are still shockingly good for a cast. This undoubtedly has a great deal of age and we feel very secure estimating that this was produced in the third quarter of the 19th century. Any time after 1886, the producer or owner of this piece would have likely rather had one of the very pretty copies struck from new dies at the Philadelphia Mint.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Joe Levine of Presidential Coin and Antique, August 2004. Earlier, from NASCA's sale of the Kessler-Spangenberger Collection, April 1981, lot 1656 (at \$110).



2086

1781 (late 19th century) cast copy of a Nathanael Greene at Eutaw Springs medal. As Betts-597. Cast lead. Unknown maker. 54.2 mm, 1714.2 grains. 5.4 - 5.8 mm thick. Choice Extremely Fine. Plain filed edge. An elegantly made cast in lead, produced from an original medal. Particularly well made and nicely preserved, with glossy deep antique gray surfaces and just a few marks. This was a

fine hole filler for a 19th century collector and likewise would serve that purpose well for a collector today.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Dr. Paul Patterson, June 1986.

MEDALS RELATED TO THE COMITIA AMERICANA SERIES**DUPRÉ'S MEDAL FOR THE COMTE D'ESTAING**

There is little known about the history behind Dupré's never-produced medal for the Comte d'Estaing, but d'Estaing's role in the American Revolution is well documented. An infantryman and administrator for decades before he ever became a naval officer, d'Estaing was promoted to vice admiral of the Asian and American seas by King Louis XVI in 1777, during the heat of the American Revolution. As soon as France officially joined the American war effort against the British, d'Estaing sailed out of his home port of Toulon ready to inflict damage on the Royal Navy. The French Alliance required two principal roles for France: financing and naval support. D'Estaing was the commander behind the latter.

D'Estaing helped blockade New York Harbor in July 1778, then sailed for Newport, Rhode Island, for the

abortive attack of British positions on Aquidneck Island. After a storm forced him into port for repairs, d'Estaing headed south for the winter, where he performed admirably in his best known actions of the war. While he was not able to keep the British from claiming the French island of St. Lucia, he captured English positions at Grenada and St. Vincent with the help of the newly arrived Comte de Grasse, who brought ten more ships to assist d'Estaing in his West Indies attacks.

In the early autumn of 1779, d'Estaing was in command of all forces who gathered to retake British-occupied Savannah, laying siege to the Georgia city by land and sea for an entire month. Injured in an amphibious attack on October 9, 1779, he returned to France. He died at the guillotine in 1794.

**Extremely Rare Trial for Dupré's Unheralded 1779 Comte D'Estaing Medal**

Margolis: "Qualifies for Inclusion in a Study of the Comitia Americana Medals"

From the Dupré Estate



(Photo Enlarged)

2087

1779 Flote du Conte Destain trial. Betts-unlisted, Dupré No. 15, Augustin Dupré (Trogan & Sorel, Musée Carnavalet) 9. White metal. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 40.7 x 34.7 mm, oval. 156.6 grains. 0.6 - 1.1 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Backed with later white paper inscribed "1779" in pencil in the hand of Narcisse Dupré. Glossy, sharp, and beautiful, a perfectly made little "épreuve d'étain" or tin proof, thinly coated at the time of its production to give it a more coppery appearance. Intact and perfectly preserved, with just a few trivial surface scratches in the left field.

This trial, presumably intended as a reverse, depicts Grenada's Fort George at left — complete with that fort's distinctive archways — and shows d'Estaing's flagship *Languedoc* at center with smoke billowing from her guns as they bombard the fort. At right, two more distant ships offer their own cannonades, all in the brilliant detail that Dupré rendered in larger module on the John Paul Jones medal he accomplished later. The only visible inscription is in the exergue, identifying the scene: FLOTE DU CONTE DESTAIN.

The Musée Carnavalet holds the only other example of this effort known, a nearly identical oval cliché whose quality is not quite

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

as good as this one, as that piece displays a substantial crack at its upper left. On p.132 of Rosine Trogan and Philippe Sorel's 2000 catalog of the Dupré collection of the Musée Carnavalet, they describe their piece as follows: "Ce projet demedaille relative a la brillante campagne americaine de l'admiral d'Estaing de 1778-1779 fait partie de l'ensemble d'oeuvres que Dupré executa au moment de l'indépendance des Etats-Unis, la plupart faisant a des commandes américaines. Cet essai semble le seul connu."

In translation: "The medal project relating to the brilliant American campaign of Admiral d'Estaing of 1778-1779 is part of the group of works that Dupré executed at the time of the independence of the United States, most of them of American commanders. This trial appears to be the only one known."

Why the medal was never struck is unknown. Perhaps it was undertaken while d'Estaing was laying siege to Savannah and was less advisable once he returned to France injured. Perhaps this die was on his desk when David Humphreys came calling in 1785 and was delayed when the Comitia Americana project required his full attention.

We may never know, but authorities in the field have long seen this medal as something of a holy grail among Dupré's medals of American interest. Leonard Forrer's biography of Dupré in his *Biographical Dictionary of Medalists* quotes a June 1900 article by Andre Hallays in the *Revue de l'Art*: "Augustin Dupré est le créateur de la médaille moderne. ... Il est à la fois un portraitiste (Franklin, Lavoisier, Louis XVIII) et presque un paysagiste (*la Bataille de Cowpens, la Flotte de comte d'Estaing*)," calling him "the creator of the modern medal" who is "at times a portraitist, ... and nearly a landscape architect," identifying this piece as one of his key works in the latter category. Charles Blanc's 1870 lecture entitled "Notice Sur La Vie et Les Ouvrages D'Augustin Dupré," translated by Len Augsburger in the May 2007 issue of *The MCA Advisory*, likewise mentions this enigmatic medal as evidence of his brilliance: "The flotilla of the count d'Estaing [reference is made to a medal commemorating d'Estaing's victory in naval engagements against the English] that spreads out its sails in a composition with not more than a thickness of 2mm so that the juxtaposed vessels produce the illusion of distance, and the ocean, depicted by some waves, portrays to us the idea of depth."

The authority that means the most to us is one your consignor and your cataloger knew well, the late Richard Margolis, unquestionably America's foremost expert on the works of Augustin Dupré and his contemporaries. In his August 2007 review of Adams and Bentley's *Comitia Americana*, Margolis took issue with the inclusion of the

1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal and suggested another more closely linked to the Comitia Americans series. "There is a piece which has a solid claim for inclusion, but does not appear," Margolis wrote.

This is a rather obscure trial piece in white metal, unsigned but reliably credited to Augustin Dupré, commemorating the Fleet of Count d'Estaing, which took part in the unsuccessful siege of Savannah. The example in the Musée Carnavalet is described and illustrated on p. 132 of Augustin Dupré (1748-1833) *Graveur General des Monnaies de France; Collections du Musée Carnavalet*, by Rosalie Trogan and Philippe Sorel. It also appears on the descriptive list of Dupré's works, now in the Paris Mint, which was prepared by his son, Narcisse Dupré (referred to by Trogan and Sorel on their p. 90)....

Of the brilliance of this particular naval campaign there may be considerable question, and whether this piece originated with an idea by Dupré himself, or was suggested to him is not known, but by commemorating an important French fleet action in the War of Independence and its prominent commander, I think that Augustin Dupré's little trial piece qualifies for inclusion in a study of the Comitia Americana medals.

Margolis did not know in 2007 that this exact specimen still lay hidden away in Dupré's own collection. He only knew of the example today in The Musée Carnavalet, which Narcisse Dupré described and listed as No. 15 on his *Listes d'Oeuvres D'Augustin Dupré, Conservées aux Archives de la Monnaie de Paris*. He dated it to 1779 (the date inscribed on the back, which refers to the date of the action) and noted it depicted "flotte de comte d'Estaing" and listed its "nature de la pièce" as "cliché."

While this piece was sold in the one-lot auction of Dupré's estate and collection, it has never been made available at auction on an individual basis. No prior generation of collector has ever had a chance to own this or any other related item, and none exist in any museum anywhere in this hemisphere. For advanced collectors of Comitia Americana medals, Revolutionary War medals, medals related to the West Indies, or the works of Augustin Dupré, this tiny tin oval represents a monumental opportunity.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, March 2015. Earlier, from the personal collection of Augustin Dupré; Dupré Estate; Narcisse Dupré, by descent, January 1833; Augustin Dupré (grandson of the engraver), by descent; legatee of Augustin Dupré II and their descendants, by descent; Bonham's sale of the Archive of Augustin and Narcisse Dupré, April 2014, lot 1.

Hub Trial for Dupré's 1779 Comte D'Estaing Medal

From the Dupré Estate

Unique



(Photo Enlarged)

2088

1779 Flote du Conte Destain hub trial. Betts-unlisted, As Dupré No. 15, As Augustin Dupré (Trogan & Sorel, Musée Carnavalet) 9. White metal. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 33.2 mm. 104.4 grains. 1.1 -1.3 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain filed back. Glossy deep gray with the same applied browning patina to offer the appearance of copper. A different rendition of d'Estaing's flagship *Languedoc*, closely related to that seen on the more finished trial above, raised from an unfinished punch for this central design element. The ship's angle and design are identical (though reversed). The foremast of a different, distant ship, seen at the bow of the *Languedoc*, is seen here in the same position and form as the previous trial, and all cannons, masts, and sails are identical in shape and position. The waves and exergue line are likewise substantially the same. The flags atop the masts are different, the smoke from the cannonade is not present, and no design is seen on the large flag on the stern. This trial shows circles on the base of each sail that are not present in the more finished version seen in the previous lot. A grid of scribe lines, both horizontal and vertical, are seen behind the main design, as noted on other similar progress proofs of Dupré's work.

Dupré thought enough of this tin proof to not only save it, but treat it with the same patina he gave to the oval trial in the previous lot. Though a relative novice at engraving ship architecture, Dupré performed with great expertise here. That expertise would become useful in 1787 when the John Paul Jones commission landed on his desk.

These two pieces have been together since the moment of their creation, through the hands of Dupré and his descendants, the dealer intermediary who happens to be typing these words, and our consignor. There is no analogue to this piece anywhere — not in the Musée Carnavalet, nor any private collection, nor anywhere else. It is unique beyond the usual tortured declensions of that word. Its sale offers two opportunities: to either keep it united with the piece that precedes it, or to offer one more collector a chance to own a relic of the legacy of Dupré's masterful but little known medal for the Comte d'Estaing.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, March 2015. Earlier, from the personal collection of Augustin Dupré; Dupré Estate; Narcisse Dupré, by descent, January 1833; Augustin Dupré (grandson of the engraver), by descent; legatee of Augustin Dupré II and their descendants, by descent; Bonham's sale of the Archive of Augustin and Narcisse Dupré, April 2014, lot 1.

THE LIBERTAS AMERICANA MEDAL

There is almost nothing we can say about the *Libertas Americana* medal that has not been said before. It is the most recognizable early American medal, the unanimous choice as #1 in the *100 Greatest Medals and Tokens* book, and the inspiration for many of the United States coinage designs of the 18th century. It is legendary beyond its rarity, historic beyond its celebrated creation narrative, and important far beyond the world of numismatics.

While not properly a part of the *Comitia Americana* series — it was a medal authorized by Benjamin Franklin as an individual, not the Continental Congress — the *Libertas Americana* medal has been adopted into this group ever since Thomas Jefferson saw fit to place one in George Washington's set of *Comitia Americana* medals in the summer of 1789. By that time, the medal was several years old, as it had been completed and distributed by Franklin in the spring of 1783. Franklin sent his medal far and wide, in France, in the United States, and beyond. His postal accounts show that in April 1783 he twice hired a carriage to special deliver his medal to its recipient. Jefferson had one on display at Monticello, inventoried as "a medal by Dr. Franklin." The Dutch artist Johann-Georg Holtzhey had a friend write to John Adams to ask how he and his friends could obtain one. As the medals found their homes in April and May 1783, Franklin's mailbox filled up with thank you notes from across the continent. On April 15 of that year, Franklin sent a bundle of them to Philadelphia to hand out to the members of Congress, including a silver one for Congress' president, future Mint Director Elias Boudinot.

In September 1783, Franklin wrote to Boudinot "I am happy that both the Device and Workmanship of the Medal are approv'd with you, as they have the good Fortune to be by the best Judges on this side the Water. It has been esteem'd a well-timed as well as a well-merited Compliment here, and has had good Effects. Since the two first which you mention as received, I have sent by different Opportunities so many as that every Member of Congress might have One. I hope they are come safe to hand by this time." Boudinot confirmed their arrival and described how he parceled them out: "I have received the additional number of Medals, which, not having any particular directions from you, I distributed among the Members of Congress, presented one to the Governor of each State, and the Ministers round Congress."

Every *Libertas Americana* medal was once handled by Franklin, every great American and Frenchman of the era knew about the medal and associated it with Franklin, and every *Libertas Americana* medal surviving today has a remarkably historic provenance, whether it is fully documented or not.

The quoted descriptions of the medal come from the *explication* published in France in May 1783, quite possibly written by Franklin himself. This *explication* was printed as a leaflet and intended to accompany the medal itself.

Obverse: "The Head representing American Liberty has its tresses floating in the air, to shew that she is in activity. The Cap carried on a Spear is her Ensign. The Date underneath is that of the Declaration of Independence."

Reverse: "The United States of America are represented by an Infant Hercules, cradled in a Buckler to shew that they are nursed in War. A Leopard, representing England, comes with two serpents to destroy the Infant. France represented by a Minerva, comes armed to his succour, and under her protection he strangles the two serpents, while she guards him from the Leopard, by her shield marked with Fleurs-de-Lis. The Legend is a line of Horace, importing that the Infant was not without divine assistance. The Dates below are those of the two Capitulations of Saratoga & York-Town, whereby two entire English Armies that had enter'd and ravaged the United States with fire & sword, were extinguished." In Franklin's symbolism, this depiction recalls Hera, the stepmother of Hercules, releasing two snakes to kill Hercules in his cradle; those two snakes were the armies of Burgoyne (defeated at Saratoga) and Cornwallis (defeated at Yorktown).



Reverse motif of the *Libertas Americana* medal as first done by A.E. Gibelin. (Library of Congress)

Beautiful Toned *Libertas Americana* Medal in Silver
An American Classic
The Kessler-Spangenberger Specimen



(Photo Enlarged)

2089

1781 *Libertas Americana* medal. Betts-615. Silver. Original. Paris Mint. 47.7 mm, 792.4 grains. 3.3 - 3.4 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge, with collaring marks or witness lines at 10:00, 11:30, and 2:30, relative to the obverse. In keeping with Mr. Adams' traditional grading, we have assigned this piece a grade of Choice About Uncirculated, the same grade it was given when sold in 1981. In more practical, modern times, this piece is of similar quality to those certified as MS-62 in recent years. A piece of spectacular beauty, with deeply mirrored fields retaining deep blue and pale golden toning highlighted with hints of violet, all over attractive light silver gray surfaces. The peripheries and devices are outlined with contrasting lustrous, light toning that adds another layer of aesthetic appeal. Some faint hairlines are seen in the fields, though they appear truly minor, and only the barest whisper of cabinet friction is seen. A dig in the reverse exergue below OCT is the only significant mark; others are scattered and trivial.

The usual die break on the obverse rim below 4, at the left side of the exergue, is in its early state here, less developed than on either of

the copper specimens in this collection. That spalling pit must have developed quickly, as all *Libertas Americana* medals were struck over a fairly short interval, yet distinct die states are seen. On the edge, the collaring marks are faint, and the one near 11:30 actually looks like a crack in the collar die.

Silver *Libertas Americana* medals are special and rare. The Adams and Bentley survey counted 22 examples. Even if there are three times that number extant (we'd guess there are 50 or 60 of these but 75 isn't beyond the realm of possibility), there is more demand than there is supply. Many are in museum collections in America and abroad, and most have been handled in the same way as an 18th century silver candlestick: lovingly enjoyed, consistently polished, displayed and appreciated for generations. Gem specimens are rarer than those with holes in them. This has eye appeal that exceeds most seen and a provenance to one of the classic medal sales of the last 40 years.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from NASCA's sale of the Kessler-Spangenberger Collection, April 1981, lot 1940.

Glorious Copper *Libertas Americana* Medal

An Exceptional Specimen



2090

1781 *Libertas Americana* medal. Betts-615. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 47.8 mm, 725.8 grains. 3.5 - 3.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge. A medal of elegance and beauty, a specimen that upholds this medal's reputation as the peak of Dupré's artistry. Rich chocolate brown with undertones of pale olive, faded rose, pastel blue, and light gold over the reflective fields. Just a gorgeous example, with fully struck detail and only a trivial degree of handling. Scattered tiny marks, including a patch in the lower left obverse field, do nothing to detract from this dazzling survivor. A natural flaw on the inside step of the obverse rim above AS of LIBERTAS is seen, as struck, and the obverse rim was gently filed to reduce a fin (or "wire rim"). The reverse peripheral legend shows some evidence of the multiple striking required to raise these details. The die state is advanced here, the latest of the three examples in this collection, with the obverse break beneath 4 reaching its fullest extent. While the spalling pit beneath the second A of AMERICANA is a bit larger here than on earlier strikes, the spalling trail in the lower right obverse remains fairly stable over the course of the die state continuum.

It is well known that Benjamin Franklin preferred Dupré's majestic design in copper. "The Impression in Copper is thought to appear best," Franklin wrote to Robert Livingston on April 15, 1783, though one wonders if he might have written something different if the piece he enclosed for Livingston was a silver one. Copper specimens like this one were sent to the members of Congress and other functionaries close to the government; it seems likely that more copper pieces were distributed in the United States than in France.

Cognizant of the historic moment they occupied, and appreciative of Franklin's largesse, it seems that most recipients of a *Libertas Americana* medal cherished it. The bulk of the mintage seems to have survived. Of course, to an 18th century non-numismatist, cherishing something meant handling it, displaying it, perhaps cleaning it now and again, thus few survive in Gem condition. The total population — perhaps 200 or so — is heavily weighted toward those with some handling. Not one in ten is as nice as this.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.

Another Choice *Libertas Americana* Medal in Copper

2091

1781 *Libertas Americana* medal. Betts-615. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 47.8 mm, 710.6 grains. 3.5 - 3.6 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain concave edge, with collaring marks or witness lines at 11:30 and 2:30, relative to the obverse. Ideally reflective medium brown with pale blue highlights and traces of faded mint color around the peripheries. A third and final beautiful example of this most-desired American medal. Some scattered verdigris or surface dirt adheres inside the obverse rim, harming nothing. Only minor marks are seen; the only two of consequence are below the stop at 12:00, close to the base of S in LIBERTAS, and below ER of that word adjacent to the hairline. Well detailed and lovely on both sides, a very pleasing example.

The collaring marks visible here are identical to the silver specimen above, and the mark near 11:30 again looks like a crack in the collar die. The die state is a trifle later than the silver piece and a bit earlier than the copper specimen in the preceding lot.

A *Libertas Americana* medal has always been a desirable item. The earliest documented American auction appearance for one seems to be lot 567 of the April 1846 sale of the D.B. Warden Collection, sold in New York by Horatio Hill. Though principally a book sale, Warden's estate included a *Libertas Americana* medal and a John Paul Jones medal. The first auction appearance in England was earlier still — May 1817 — when the collection of Thomas Brand Hollis was offered by Mr. Sotheby. Franklin knew Hollis and his late husband were coin collectors and sent Thomas Brand a specimen of the medal specifically for his cabinet. It was sold together with a medal of Washington, another of Linneus, and a Charleston Social Club medal of 1763 (!) as lot 270. The *Libertas Americana* medal was not yet 35 years old. Within a few years of the landmark 1851 Roper sale, where Lot A, Number 12 was described as "Medal — *Libertas Americana*, struck in Paris," numismatic specialty auctions began to become commonplace. Appearances of the *Libertas Americana* medal, the nation's favorite medal then as now, followed suit.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.

Extraordinary *Libertas Americana* Hub Trial in Brass

The Earliest Form of the Reverse

Unique in Private Hands



(Photo Enlarged)

2092

1781 *Libertas Americana* reverse hub trial. As Betts-615. Brass. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 49.7 x 50.6 mm, 1001.0 grains. 3.8 - 4.2 mm thick. **Extremely Fine / As issued.** Plain irregular edge, filed in a criss-cross fashion. A most unusual piece of artist's scrap: a nearly round piece of brass, filed to a flat plane on both sides but smoother on the struck side, deeply impressed with the hub or design puncheon engraved for the central reverse design of the *Libertas Americana* medal. The design was essentially fully developed at this juncture, including Dupré's DUPRE F. signature, but still lacked the three fleurs-de-lis on Minerva's shield that apparently were the final detail added. The object is a deep brassy gold, showing some orange-rust tinted pitting and oxidation on the flip side but glossy and pleasing on the struck side. The design is deeply impressed though somewhat pitted internally, which begs the question: was this piece of scrap struck later, after the design punch tool had rusted, or did the metal within the struck area just happen to corrode at a somewhat different rate than the clean and polished unstruck areas? Given the fact that Dupré's dies and tools did not survive in his own collection, let alone anywhere else, we strongly suspect the latter rather than the former.

A fascinating piece, offering insight into just how Dupré built his dies: with hub punches for major design elements, to which finer details could be added on the working die. This was a conservative approach, saving work in the circumstance of a die breaking during the hardening process, which may have been more likely than not. Perhaps making this piece even more interesting is the fact that it is one of two known. The other, donated to the Musée Carnavalet in 2000, is illustrated in Trogen and Sorel, p. 313, figure 173. Impressed onto a nearly identical brass disk, with similar corrosion and file marks, the Carnavalet piece was clearly made at the same time and for the same purpose as this one.

Aside from the various surviving clichés of the *Libertas Americana* design, there are no other progress proofs like this in private hands anywhere.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 287. Earlier, from the Wayte Raymond estate.

Earliest Known *Libertas Americana* Medal Cliché

The First View of the Reverse Design in Relief

Unique



(Photo Enlarged)

2093

1781 (Before January 23, 1783) *Libertas Americana* Medal reverse cliché. As Betts-615. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 43.5 x 43.7 mm., 210.8 grains. 0.7 - 1.1 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain trimmed edge. Traces of paper fiber present around periphery of plain back. Medium pewter gray with a faint and pleasing golden tone. Despite the softness of the composition and the relative fragility of this object, the condition is admirable. A minor rim bruise at 6:00 affects nothing, another nearer 5:00 is nearly as minor. Some minor marks are seen, and those on the blank back are just as likely a by-product of the moment of this item's production as an injury that has befallen it in the intervening two and a quarter centuries. The color and eye appeal are highly pleasing.

The real attraction of this piece is not its beauty but its history. This impression, commonly called a cliché today though referred to by both Franklin and Jefferson as an “épreuve,” French for proof, represents a discrete point on the design continuum that preceded the mintage of this, America's most famous historical medal. The central device appears here in its essentially finished form, but the legends have not yet been punched into the die. Instead, in their place, hand engraved (scratched, in essence) guide lines frame the peripheral legends and the adopted verbiage has been somewhat casually scratched in. The handwriting (i.e., the lightly engraved legends) closely resembles that seen on Dupré's preliminary pencil sketches; it is undoubtedly Dupré's hand that personally added them to this impression. The position of the main legend is different than that seen on the finished product. On this impression, NON begins just above the tip of Minerva's spear. On the final struck medals, NON is located between Minerva's flowing back drapery and her helmet. The exergual legend, indicating the dates of the victories at Saratoga and Yorktown, is identical to that found on the struck versions of the medal in terms of both language and layout. Aside from the absence of punched legends, there are a few other

notable differences between this proof and the finished product. On the exergual line, DUPRE F. has yet to be punched. The second exergual line, shadowing the bottom side of the main line, has not yet been engraved. One significant difference in the main device is the addition, after this cliché was produced, of cuirass to the breast of Minerva/France. It is a curious change; perhaps Franklin thought France should assume a more warlike posture, or perhaps it was just to evoke better agreement between the dress of the goddess and the tools of war she carried, namely the spear and shield. Another notable difference is that the snakes on this piece show no scaling; the uppermost shows no arrow-tip to its tongue. They are clearly not yet finished.

This piece was produced before January 23, 1783, the date of a letter from Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart that included two proofs from Dupré, one of the obverse and one on the reverse. On those clichés, Brongniart notes a misspelling in the main legend NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS, (“en outre le graveur a mis intans au lieu d'infans et qu'il corrigera ce defaut d'Ortographie”), meaning that the legends had already been placed in the die. The reverse cliché with INFANS spelled INTANS, somewhat miraculously, survives - it was included in our sale of the Ford collection as lot 286 in Ford XIV. Its significance was missed at the time. That cliché was struck after Minerva's cuirass was finished and after the scales had been added to the snakes, thus it represents a later state of the central device than that seen on the presently offered impression. By the same January 23 letter, however, Brongniart requests the final version of the legend “faire ecrire des deux cotes au Bas de la medaille,” or to be inscribed on both sides at the base of the metal, in other words, the exergual legends. This cliché shows an exergual legend that matches the final version; perhaps at this point the final decision had not yet been made and other legends were still being considered. In March 1783, Franklin sent an épreuve (singular) to Sir William Jones while noting “the engraving of my medal, which you know was projected before the peace, is but just finished. None

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

are yet struck in hard metal, but will be in a few days." Ready for hardening, the dies of the *Libertas Americana* medal were by that point complete.

This and the lot that follows are the most important of the *Libertas Americana* clichés, a class that is as sparse as it is important. Aside from the two in this sale, we can account for two others in private hands: Ford:288, the somewhat broken cliché of the finished reverse die, and the framed and inscribed impression from the same finished state of the die that was last sold in our August 2012 sale as lot 4095 (earlier, lot 446 in New Netherlands' 36th sale of January 1952, published in *The Numismatist*, November 1957, and sold in our January 2010 Americana sale as lot 4732). Lot 27 of the 1933 Charles P. Senter sale included a silver and bronze strike of the *Libertas Americana* medal along with "5 trial pieces." One wonders if the five trial pieces might have included the bronze hub trial above, this cliché, the cliché in the following lot, and the two other clichés known from finished dies — in other words, every single privately held *Libertas Americana* medal trial known to us.

The little known Godefroy Mayer Catalogue 30, issued in Paris in 1913 and fully titled "Old paintings, drawings, miniatures, statuettes, busts, snuff boxes, bonbonnieres, medallions, medals,

and other objects of art relating to America," also included *Libertas Americana* medal clichés. Lot 457 was described as "The same [i.e. *Libertas Americana*]. Proof impressions in zinc. In two gilt rimmed frames." Lot 458 was "The same. Reverse only. Proof impression in zinc." The current whereabouts of these are unknown. They are not in the collection of the Musée Carnavalet, but these (or similar items) may be in the Musée Blerancourt, where E.A. Gobelins' original sketches for the *Libertas Americana* medal along with a terracotta model of the reverse are among the most prized items in the collection.

Every *Libertas Americana* cliché is able to be dated to the period before the end of March 1783 when Franklin began distributing struck medals. This is clearly the very earliest example of the épreuves, produced less to show the finished design and more to help conceive it. Among all of the *Libertas Americana* trial pieces in all collections, institutional and private, this piece has no analogue. Perhaps no *Libertas Americana* cliché can surpass this one's importance.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our Philadelphia Americana sale, September 2009, lot 6101. Earlier, from our Minot Collection sale, May 2008, lot 518.



Franklin's Reception at the Court of France. (Library of Congress)

Unique “Intans” *Libertas Americana* Medal Cliché

The Piece That Kept Franklin From Making a Mistake

Struck in January 1783



(Photo Enlarged)

2094

1781 (Before January 23, 1783) *Libertas Americana* Medal reverse cliché. As Betts-615. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 47.0 x 46.8 mm., 214.0 grains. 0.5 - 1.5 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain trimmed edge. Traces of paper fiber present on plain back. A superbly preserved soft metal impression, with only minor surface wear and most of the original paper still present on the blank back. Bright lustrous evidence of the tin beneath is visible at the peripheries of the unadorned back. The struck side is glossy and appealing, even dark gray with no major defects. Details are spectacularly sharp, including the cuirass on Minerva's chest, an addition between the time the previous lot was made and when this one was struck. The face of Minerva appears more refined here as well.

This fascinating progress proof was made at a very particular moment of this die's journey to completion. The exergual legend is not present, though various raised scribe lines are visible in the exergue. The peripheral legend is the most interesting part of this piece's design, however: NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INTANS — INTANS, rather than the correct spelling, INFANS. Fortunately, the person to whom Benjamin Franklin sent this cliché noticed: Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart, an architect and man of letters who was a vital link in the chain that connected Franklin with both the designer of the reverse, E.A. Gobel, and medalist Augustin Dupré who brought the *Libertas Americana* medal to fruition.

On January 23, 1783, Brongniart wrote to Franklin:

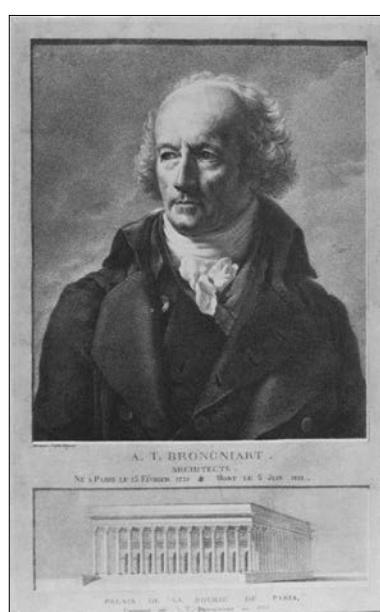
I have the honor of sending to Mr Franklin two new proofs of the medal, noting that the head is not quite as perfect as it should be, that the serpents held by the child will be larger and better drawn; moreover the engraver put 'intans' instead of 'infans' and this spelling mistake shall be corrected.

I have the honor of reminding Mr Franklin that he had promised what he shall have inscribed on both sides at the bottom of the medal, and this matter alone prevents its completion.

Brongniart is acting as a go-between from Dupré, who produced this object, to Franklin, who commissioned it, all while serving as a vital critical eye. In a February 1785 to Franklin, Gobel attests to Brongniart's role in his involvement: "the medal of the United States of America that you had struck last year (sic) was modeled after the design that I composed at the request of Monsieur Brongniart."

Not only was Brongniart's helpful edit of the legend corrected, but Dupré fixed his design flaws as well: on the final version, the lower of the two snakes has an additional coil at the end of its tail and the upper snake shows a forked tongue. Other improvements seen on the finished medal include the addition of DUPRE F. near the exergual line and the addition of a Gorgon's head to Minerva's cuirass.

Brongniart not only pointed out corrections — he even followed up to make sure they were



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received and executed. On January 31, 1783, he wrote to Franklin again:

M. Brongniart has the honor of sending his respects to Mr. Franklin and begs him to let him know if he was given Friday of last week [i.e. the day after his previous letter was sent, January 24] two new proofs of the medal, and among others that of the head of Liberty. Mr Franklin has seemingly forgotten to send to Mr Brongniart what he wishes to have put at the bottom of the medal on each side, and this holds back the engraver who wishes to complete this work.

This confirms that Dupré also made clichés that, like this one, had no exergual legend, but with the correct form of the peripheral legend. No such clichés are known today.

As noted in the previous description, we know of just four *Libertas Americana* medal clichés, all of the reverse: this lot, the previous lot, Ford:288, and the framed and inscribed piece last sold in our 2012 ANA sale. We presume at least a few exist, if poorly documented, in institutional collections.

While every splasher has a great history, no trial piece for the *Libertas Americana* medal has so much direct documentary support as this one. When it was catalogued in our Ford sale, its major consequence was missed. Joined with the paper trail that fully explains it, this is an object of substantial historical importance.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our 2012 ANA sale, August 2012, lot 4094. Earlier, from Augustin Dupré to Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart to Benjamin Franklin on January 23, 1783; Wayte Raymond; and our (Stack's) sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 286.



2095

1781 (i.e. 19th century) *Libertas Americana* medal electrotype shell. As Betts-615. Copper. Workshop of an unknown electrotypist. 45.7 mm. 84.0 grains. 0.5 - 0.8 mm thick. Essentially as made. Intaglio back, as made. An unjoined electrotype shell, well

made from a high grade specimen. Wavy but well detailed with pleasing brown surfaces. This should not be confused with a struck piece.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, September 2015.

THE MEDALS OF FRANKLIN

B. FRANKLIN OF PHILADELPHIA

Benjamin Franklin was a human Rorschach test among educated citizens of the Western World during the late 18th century. A savvy politician in England, an avatar of enlightened simplicity in France, a living manifestation of the American obsession with Horatio Alger-style success stories, or a self-interested operator who manipulated people and public opinion to achieve his goals: Franklin was all of these things. He was the quintessential American yet lived abroad for most of his adult life, a lover of women but abandoned his wife, and a middle class tradesman who amassed great wealth. His medallic portraiture reflects all of these poses and contradictions: learned titles when he needed to affect sophistication, a fur hat when he needed to be approachable, a fresh face that communicated youth and experience when his country needed both steadiness and exuberance. His depictions are fascinating, both during his life and after.

The origins of the 1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal are obscure. The distinctive portrait, and the unusual basining of the reverse, bring to mind a group of medals that are clearly related: the 1778 Washington "Voltaire" medal, the 1777 Chevalier D'Eon medal, and the 1776 David Hume medal. Tony Lopez did a good job punchlinking this group in the June 2008 MCA Advisory, and finding that a group of medals shares a punchset is good evidence if not a slam dunk that they come from the same workshop. The August 2008 issue of the same journal features a detailed examination by the English medal mensch Christopher Eimer, reflecting on the conversation he and Richard Margolis had shared years earlier discussing many of the same connections among these medals, while cautioning that little evidence connects these medals to the liberal-minded ceramics makers Wedgwood and Bentley.

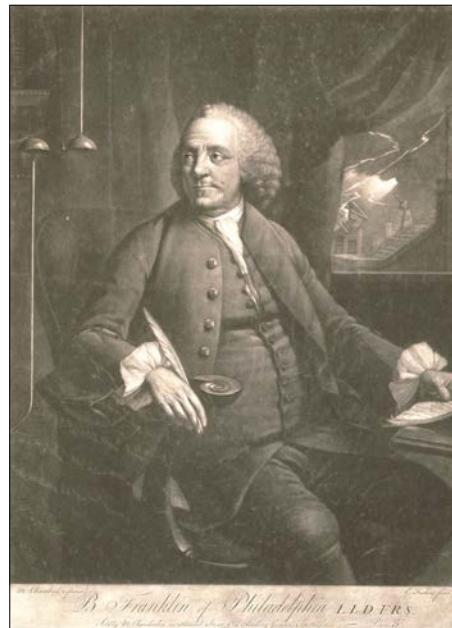
It is safe to assume that, despite the long-standing attribution of the "Voltaire" medal to France, these medals are all of English manufacture. D'Eon was a cause célèbre in England in 1777 and Hume, of course, was a Scot. Attribution to a particular medalist would be absolute guesswork, as none of the medals are signed — unless the "F" that follows the 1777 date on the D'Eon medal is a signature (Flaxman?). The medals all have in common a certain liberal, internationalist mindset, all of which would have been appealing to the same kind of crowd.

This medal has often been laid at the feet of Josiah Wedgwood and Thomas Bentley, makers of medallions (ceramic, not metal) who shared this sort of political perspective. The "brazen head" mentioned in Grueber and the Adams-Bentley work is undoubtedly Washington's, not Franklin's based on the context of the quoted letters. Franklin was not, as Wedgwood wrote, "more absolute than any Despot in Europe," but Washington was — he was called "dictateur" on a popular French engraving published in 1777.

So while we cannot identify the medalist, we can certainly narrow down the mindset, the crowd, and the political perspective that would inspire a medal of Franklin at a time that he was the most famous face of a treasonous band of colonists. And this medal doesn't just evoke Franklin, it celebrates him: mentioning his honorary degree from the University of Saint Andrews and his fellowship in the Royal Society. The medal's pose and inscription are based upon a print of Franklin by Edward Fisher published in 1763, when Franklin was the toast of London, an ally and a strong advocate for the government of George III. This pro-Franklin obverse juxtaposed with his immovable strength — like a tree in a lightning storm — all during the Revolutionary tumult of 1777 makes for a highly charged political statement.

Obverse: A three-quarter left portrait of Benjamin Franklin, depicted with a velvet turban, based upon Edward Fisher's 1763 print. The inscription B. FRANKLIN OF PHILADELPHIA L.L.D. & F.R.S. identifies him as a Doctor of Laws (Honorary, University of Saint Andrews, 1759) and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Reverse: A lone tree attracts a lightning bolt, with the peripheral legend NON IRRITA FULMINA CURA, which Adams and Bentley translate as "He is not perturbed by the futile lightning bolts" and for which Betts offers the inscrutable "He cares not for the ineffectual thunderbolt." Charles Coleman Sellers uses Herbert Grueber's better translation: "He stands impervious to the futile thunderbolt." The sense of the expression is something along the lines of "He doesn't care how the lightning strikes," suggesting steadfastness in the face of danger while punning on Franklin's famed taming of electricity. The date J777 + seems unusual, though J was often used for 1 on coin and medal productions in England in this era, and the cross decoration is seen as a spacer on the Hume medal, among others.



B. Franklin of Philadelphia, by Benjamin Fisher.
(Library of Congress)

Iconic if Enigmatic 1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia Medal

"The Most Important of all the Franklin Medals"

Apparently Unique in Private Hands in Silver



(Photo Enlarged)

2096

1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal. Betts-547. Silver. Unidentified English medalist. 45.2 mm. 799.2 grains. 3.5 - 3.7 mm thick. **Choice About Uncirculated.** Plain edge with gently beveled rims. A strong candidate for the prettiest of all medals in the Adams Collection, with deeply reflective and highly lustrous surfaces showing elegant toning in shades of pale blue, rose gold, violet, and brilliant silver gray. An exceptionally appealing medal, showing a three-quarter facing portrait of Franklin that is as distinctive as it is expertly accomplished. Multiple strikes were required to bring the portrait into full relief, perhaps three based upon the appearance of the peripheral legends. The visual appeal of this specimen exceeds even the remarkable elegance of this medal's workmanship.

The Adams and Bentley census lists four of these in silver: British Museum, this example, "Wayte Raymond Estate," and "Greenslet Plate coin." The Raymond estate was acquired by Ford. Had there been one in the Raymond estate, presumably he wouldn't have needed to acquire this one in 1967. Of course, Wayte Raymond bought and sold a lot of things, quite possibly including this piece at some period in between Medina's death in 1930 (when Raymond was perhaps the biggest dealer of Numismatic Americana in the country) and this medal resurfacing in 1967. As for the Greenslet

plate coin, the plate piece is depicted in black and white with no assurances of its composition. Until either the Wayte Raymond piece turns up, or Greenslet's is discovered to be silver rather than just a very nice copper example, we will remain firm in our suspicion that this medal is unique in private hands.

More than a decade has passed since this piece brought \$92,000 in Ford XIV, where Michael Hodder called it "the most important of all the Franklin medals" in boldface type. Its production during the annus horribilis of 1777 makes it all the more remarkable. While George Washington ached from his terrible loss at Brandywine, blood had yet to dry at Paoli, and General William Howe made himself comfortable in Franklin's Philadelphia, British allies treasonously celebrated America's new minister to France with this hagiographic medal. Franklin arrived in Paris around Christmas 1776. While he celebrated his 1777 Nini portrait in terre-cuite to an embarrassing degree, he never commented on this medal — he may never have seen it. As Adams and Bentley wrote of this rarity, "in the end, the secret of this medal is that it is a secret medal."

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 336. Earlier, Jose Toribio Medina Collection; plated in Medina's 1924 Medallas Europeas Relativas a América, figure 154; Colony Coin Company, August 1967.

Spectacular 1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia Medal

Copper



2097

1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal. Betts-547. Copper. Unidentified English medalist. 45.3 mm. 695.2 grains. 3.5 - 3.7 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. A truly exceptional specimen of this medal, utterly unworn but for the tip of Franklin's nose and displaying lovely chocolate brown color with hints of faded red. The surfaces are glossy and lustrous, despite microscopic granularity indicative of striking atop a cast planchet. Multiple strikes have brought up exacting detail and given the basined reverse field a nearly reflective smoothness. Two old nicks are noted in the left obverse field; the arc mark in the left reverse field appears to be as-struck rather than some kind of scratch. The visual appeal is superb, surpassing the "Uncirculated, choice" Ford XIV example and its suspect color.

The earliest American offering we find of a copper strike from these dies is October 1865, in Ed Cogan's Dr. F.S. Edwards sale, lot 1598. Nearly every 19th century offering makes mention of this medal's rarity. It is no more common today. Adams and Bentley enumerated eight specimens but only casually surveyed known collections; they estimated "this medal in bronze is mid-range R-6," or about 20 specimens known. It may be a touch more common than that, but the greater proportion of survivors are worn and mishandled. Gems are non-existent. This is about the nicest one we've encountered.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.



2098

1777 B. Franklin of Philadelphia medal. Betts-547. Copper. Unidentified English medalist. 45.5 mm. 678.0 grains. 2.7 - 3.5 mm thick. Very Fine. Plain square edge. A more worn specimen of this rarity, still pleasing and exhibiting good medium brown color. Scattered marks and nicks are seen, and the date has been scraped away long ago. The multiple strikes show a vast spread between

them, muddying the inscriptions a bit (and rendering NON nearly invisible on the reverse). The rims have been gently filed at the time of production to reduce the wire edge. This is a fairly typical condition for this elusive medal.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craige.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON

The exact circumstances that led up to Augustin Dupré creating a medal to honor Benjamin Franklin are unclear. There is little paper trail emanating from either of these gentleman, artist or subject, to indicate that a special anniversary or incident was being celebrated. Rather, this seems to be what has long been termed a "personal medal," that is, a medal to honor a figure whose character was admired by the artist who created it.

Sketches in the collections of the American Philosophical Society and Boston Public Library, as well as three retained in the Dupré estate, show the evolution of Dupré's design concept for the reverse of this medal. Several drawings depict a fully grown Hercules — a play on the infant Hercules who represents America on the *Libertas Americana* medal — trampling two figures, one of whom wears a crown and holds a broken scepter. Eventually Dupré came upon versions of the Winged Genius design that were close to the adopted motif. The legend *ERIPUIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS*, commonly translated as "He snatched lightning from the heavens and the scepter from tyrants," is typically attributed to Turgot, the French politician and economist. It first appeared on a print of Franklin dated 1778, and various versions of the phrase floated around France thereafter. The legend is found on one of Nini's large size Franklin portraits in terracotta, dated 1779, and it's often found hand-inscribed on the back of the smaller and more commonplace 1777 Nini Franklin portraits as well.

Franklin said little about this medal, which may suggest that he heard little about it — the Betts-619 from original dies is rare enough today to suggest that very few of them were struck during Franklin's lifetime. Indeed, by the time Franklin left his French home at Passy for good on July 12, 1785, Dupré's celebratory medal was probably still a fairly well kept secret. His friend E.A. Gobel, who helped design the reverse of the *Libertas Americana* medal, wrote him on February 7, 1785, on various topics and noted "M. Dupré le graveur m'en a montré une avec l'inscription eripuit coelo fulmen etc." or "Mr. Dupré the engraver showed me one with the inscription eripuit coelo fulmen etc." No other mention of this medal appears in Franklin's papers, save a handbill advertising the Comte d'Estaing's 1790 work entitled "Appercu Hazardé Sur L'Exportation Dans Les Colonies," which was dedicated to Franklin and illustrated the Winged Genius medal on its title page.



As beautiful as Dupré's first effort was, it was short lived and has proved a major rarity today. The reason the second medal, Betts-620, supplanted the first is clear from studying the medals: the initial reverse failed and was, unfortunately, replaced with a far less imaginative one. This second type was all that was available when Jefferson built the small collection to present to President George Washington, now conserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sometime after Franklin's death, the first reverse design was brought back again with a new copy die; as popular as Franklin was in life, he became perhaps more so in death. The original obverse die and the original replacement die (with wreath) also lived on for generations of restrikes. After 1842, these restrikes were marked on the edge with Paris Mint privy marks. They remain accessible enough to suggest that they were popular sellers throughout the 19th century in France and abroad.

The Benj. Franklin Natus Boston Medal:

Obverse: Franklin's profile faces left, based on the portrait bust by Houdon, with DUPRE F. on the shoulder truncation. The date MDCCVI beneath the bust represents the year of his birth, 1706. The legend BENJ. FRANKLIN NATUS BOSTON XVII JAN around the periphery completes the thought: "Benjamin Franklin born at Boston, January 17."

First Reverse: A winged genius, symbolizing brilliance of thought, stands at center with one hand raised to the thunderbolt behind him. A lightning rod, invented by Franklin, attracts the bolt atop a temple at left. A broken scepter and crown lay on the ground at right. The peripheral legend *ERIPUIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS*, or "He snatched lightning from the heavens and the scepter from tyrants," is perhaps the most famous aphorism about Franklin. In the exergue, Dupré takes full credit: *SCULPSIT ET DICAVIT / AUG. DUPRE ANNO / MDCCLXXXIV* or "Engraved and dedicated by Augustin Dupré in the year 1784."

Second Reverse: A simple oak wreath contains the legend *ERIPUIT COELO FULMEN SCEPTRUMQUE TYRANNIS*. Below the wreath, the legend continues in three lines: *SCULPSIT ET DICAVIT / AUG. DUPRE ANNO / MDCCLXXXVI*

Apparently Unique Silver 1784 Franklin Winged Genius Medal

Dupré's Original Homage to Franklin

An Unappreciated Rarity from This Reverse Die



(Photo Enlarged)

2099

1784 Franklin Winged Genius medal. Betts-619. Silver. Original dies. Paris Mint. 46.0 mm. 693.0 grains. 3.3 - 4.0 mm thick. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain concave edge. Deep antique gray and navy blue with highlights of gold and pastel blue on both sides. The fields on both sides are lustrous and lightly reflective, though scattered light marks and evidence of handling are seen. A long arc scratch curves from the lightning bolt across the lightning rod atop the temple at the left side of the reverse, and a curlicue scratch in the right reverse field is noted parallel to the Genius' lower hand. A cut on the edge, invisible from either side, is noted near 10:00 relative to the obverse.

The reverse appears a bit wavy and swollen at its center, an issue that befell this die when it hardened and later metastasized into a crack that ended this reverse's life rather prematurely. The die was replaced with the reverse that encloses the same legend in a wreath, then at some later date another Winged Genius reverse die was made with slightly different lettering. This original reverse die shows the U in FULMEN rendered correctly (with the thicker side to the left) and the exergue shows the L of MDCCLXXXIV lined up directly beneath P of DUPRE. On the later copy Winged Genius reverse, the U of FULMEN is punched with its thicker side to the right, and the L of the date is lined up beneath U of DUPRE.

The obverse of this medal is singularly fascinating. The obverse was initially created with an error date. Rather than MDCCXVI for Franklin's year of birth (1706), it was punched with MDCCXV. This medal must have been struck extremely early in the die's life, as it was coined before the obverse die was corrected — instead, an incuse I is punched over the round stop that followed MDCCXV and another incuse period was punched after it. On all other medals using the original Winged Genius reverse, including the bronze strikings in Ford and LaRiviere and the obverse clichés included in this collection and LaRiviere's, the die has been corrected. If its silver composition wasn't enough to make this medal very special, it is also unique in this uncorrected first state form.

Adams and Bentley cite this piece as the only silver specimen known to them. It is entirely unique with the incuse date correction,

but the American Philosophical Society holds an original reverse Winged Genius medal in silver struck from the corrected obverse and this same original reverse die. A silver specimen of this medal was offered in New York Coin and Stamp's sale of May 1892, lot 338, but the description is not enough to discern whether the reverse was the original die (or even if this was a plain edge piece from the pre-1842 era or a later restrike with a Paris Mint edge marking). Considering when Godfrey A.S. Weiners, a famous New York publisher, was active collecting, there is a chance that the 1892 offering was actually this piece. Bronze pieces from the original reverse die are not appreciably more common: Ford and LaRiviere each had one, and another was sold in our August 2013 ANA sale as lot 1010. Zigrosser ("Medallic Sketches of Augustin Dupré in American Collections," published by the American Philosophical Society in 1957) illustrates a bronze specimen in the APS Collection that appears to be from the original reverse and the corrected original obverse. Perhaps three clichés are known of the original reverse, including one in the Massachusetts Historical Society, the LaRiviere cliché, and one in the present offering. Thus, this original reverse is fully Rarity-7 in all compositions combined. In this one, it is utterly unique.

This medal has been readily adopted into the Comitia Americana series, even though its more common cognate, Betts-620 with the wreath and inscription reverse, is the medal Jefferson chose to include in George Washington's set of silver strikes. Given the rarity of this medal today, it seems likely that once the dies failed, it was impossible for Jefferson to get his hands on one of this type by 1789 and he instead settled for what was then available.

The relative availability of Betts-620 has made collectors underestimate the rarity and importance of Betts-619. This design is rare in any form, even from the later copy reverse. In this form, from Dupré's original reverse die, it is practically non-collectible in any composition, with fewer than a half dozen in private hands. In silver, its rarity is literally unsurpassable.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from our sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part XIV, May 2006, lot 345. Earlier, from Sotheby Parke-Bernet's sale of the Godfrey A.S. Weiners Collection, October 25, 1960.

Extremely Rare Obverse Cliché of Dupré's Benjamin Franklin Die One of Two Recorded



2100

1784 Benj. Franklin Natus Boston obverse cliché. As Betts-619. White metal. Original dies. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 44.0 mm. 179.4 grains. 1.2 - 1.9 mm thick. About Uncirculated. Plain trimmed edge. Backed with traces of orange or amber wax, as if once stuck to a letter. An exciting trial piece, from a very early state of this obverse die, but after the correction of the error date (as seen on the unique silver piece, above). This cliché must have been struck after the silver example with the distinctive incuse date correction, but before the rest of the mintage of both Betts-619 and Betts-620. The surfaces are glossy dark gray, a little wavy but with a smooth texture, attractive and original in appearance. A few circular areas of trivial surface corrosion are noted, behind Franklin's head, beneath the rear corner of the bust truncation, and on the relief of the truncated shoulder, but these are inactive and largely blend in.

The only other obverse cliché from this die we've ever seen or heard of was included in LaRiviere III, May 2001, lot 1117. None were in Ford, and none are held by the American Numismatic Society, Boston Public Library, or Massachusetts Historical Society (though MHS does have a reverse cliché). None are mentioned or illustrated in the Musée Carnavalet Dupré catalog (which does reference drawings related to this issue that are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale and American Philosophical Society).

Though Betts-620 is comparatively common, this unprepossessing cliché from the obverse it shares with Betts-619 is of the highest rarity and importance.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, January 2016.

Important Cliché of Dupré's Original Winged Genius Reverse

Finished State of the Die, Unique in Private Hands



2101

1784 Benj. Franklin Natus Boston reverse cliché. As Betts-619. White metal. Original dies. Workshop of Augustin Dupré. 47.2 x 46.6 mm. 566.0 grains. 1.7 - 3.6 mm thick. Extremely Fine. Irregular trimmed edge. Back shows traces of remaining paper fiber. An unusual production, one the consignor originally considered too thick to be a proper cliché. This piece appears to have been the product of being "puddled twice," as the consignor notes on his envelope. Dupré, seeing an insufficient amount of molten tin to make a proper impression, pooled more atop his initial pour, creating an almost clad appearance and a trial of uncommon heft. The surfaces are attractive and even light gray, peppered with tiny marks but no major defects. Despite some wear, the devices and legends are crisply rendered. There are some marks around the rim, but all things considered they are not serious; we note the largest at 7:00.

This is Dupré's original reverse, and this trial represents just one of perhaps a half dozen impressions from that reverse known in all compositions in private hands. The LaRiviere cliché from this reverse was unique and fascinating, produced before the exergual legend was entered. It stands alone as an impression from that die state. This piece has a few analogues: a piece that is either abused or was poorly made that is illustrated on p. 135 of Trogan and Sorel from the collection of the Musée Carnavalet, and an example in the Massachusetts Historical Society illustrated by Adams and Bentley on p. 175 of *Comitia Americana* were both created from the finished state of this reverse die, making a total of three known to us. This is the only one in private hands.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John Kraljevich Americana, September 2016.

Very Rare Winged Genius Medal in Copper



2102

1784 (ca. 1790-1842) Franklin Winged Genius medal. Betts-619. Copper. Original obverse, copy reverse. Paris Mint. 46.1 mm. 629.4 grains. 3.1 - 3.4 mm thick. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. Choice and lustrous medium brown, even and lovely, a near-perfect example. A tiny horizontal mark under QUE on the right reverse field is the only flaw to mention. The obverse die state is somewhat advanced, with the halo of spalling chips surrounding the profile now more prominent than on earlier states. Islands of spalling damage have likewise grown under TON of BOSTON and beneath CVI of the date.

This piece was struck before privy marks were instituted in 1842 (placed on the edge to identify the era of production at the Paris

Mint), but sometime after the original Dupré die failed and was recreated in copy form. The letterforms are different, as are their placements. The U of FULMEN is punched with its thicker side to the right, and the L of the date is lined up beneath U of DUPRE, whereas the original version shows the U in FULMEN rendered correctly (with the thicker side to the left) and the exergue shows the L of MDCCLXXXIV lined up directly beneath P of DUPRE. Though struck a bit later, this remains a very rare medal. It is clear that the Paris Mint preferred to strike and sell the version with the wreath reverse, as today those pieces outnumber this version — even in later restrike form — at least 20 to 1 and perhaps even more.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craigie.

Very Rare Benj. Franklin Natus Boston Medal in Silver
Struck the Year of Franklin's 80th Birthday



2103

1786 Benj. Franklin Natus Boston medal. Betts-620. Silver. Original dies. Paris Mint. 46.3 mm. 862.6 grains. 3.8 - 4.4 mm thick. **Choice About Uncirculated.** Plain concave edge. A handsome piece, finer than the Ford XIV:354 specimen (which had a drill hole in its edge) even though Ford traded this one away as a duplicate. The surfaces are reflective and lustrous, attractively toned in dappled, subtle gold and pale blue over chiefly brilliant surfaces. Scattered marks are seen across both sides, none devastating to the excellent visual appeal. We note two vertically oriented nicks in the lower left obverse field off Franklin's chin and a circular dimple on the obverse rim right of the final date digit. The rims were gently filed at the time of production to knock down the wire rim or fin around the obverse. The die states progressed quickly on this obverse, as spalling chips fell from the die surface apace, and this one appears marginally later than Ford's silver specimen. It is earlier than one of the Adams bronzes and later than the other.

The Adams and Bentley census located 14 specimens of this medal in silver, including examples at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Washington's own), Yale University, Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum, the Royal Coin Cabinet of Sweden, and two in the Stadtisches Museum in Braunschweig. This reflects the great affection in which Franklin was held throughout Europe. Once the Winged Genius reverse broke and was replaced with the reverse seen here, this became the current medal available from Dupré and the Paris Mint at the time of Franklin's death in 1790. This was the medal available to Jefferson when he assembled Washington's set of Comitia Americana medals before leaving Paris in 1789. In restruck form, first from these original dies and later from copy dies, the Paris Mint kept this medal in stock throughout the 19th century.

There may be 20 silver specimens in existence, perhaps 10 to 12 in private hands. This is not a large population for such an important medal. We have not seen one sell publicly since the iNumis sale of March 2017.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from John J. Ford, Jr., October 1983.



2104

1786 Benj. Franklin Natus Boston medal. Betts-620. Copper. Original dies. Paris Mint. 45.9 mm. 687.8 grains. 3.8 - 4.0 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain concave edge, collaring marks at 12:00 and 12:30 as seen on some Comitia Americana strikes. An exceptionally early striking from an early state of these dies, coined from a collar style in use ca. 1787-89. Choice medium brown with warm luster on both sides. A few tiny specks are seen, including one on Franklin's jowls and one under B of BENJ. This is about as early a die state as a collector could hope to obtain for this classic medal.

Among the medals included in the Adams Collection, this is perhaps the most common in original form. After Franklin's death, this medal would have been a must-have inclusion in any European or American cabinet of great men — and collecting medals was extremely popular at the time. The plain edge originals, struck before 1842, remain scarcer than the vast majority of numismatic items that cost the same amount yet have pretensions to popularity.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Joseph Lepczyk's sale of May 1982, lot 384.



2105

1786 Benj. Franklin Natus Boston medal. Betts-620. Copper. Original dies. Paris Mint. 46.2 mm. 712.0 grains. 3.9 - 4.3 mm thick. **Choice Mint State.** Plain concave edge, collaring marks at 7:30 and 3:00 relative to the obverse. Rich chocolate brown with

exceptional luster. Well detailed and choice, a lovely example of this medal. The die state is slightly more advanced than either the copper piece in the previous lot or the silver medal that precedes it. A very desirable piece, far finer than usually encountered.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Ted Craigie.

THE DIPLOMATIC MEDAL

Approved by George Washington, influenced by John Adams and William Temple Franklin (grandson of Benjamin), and brought to fruition by Augustin Dupré, the United States Diplomatic medal was the pet project of Thomas Jefferson. Appointed secretary of State by President Washington on September 26, 1789, Jefferson returned home the following month from Paris, where he had been serving as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Louis XVI. The following spring, in April 1790, he hatched a plan to create gifts for diplomats dispatched to the United States, just as the crowned heads of Europe gave symbols of appreciation to the ambassadors assigned to their governments. After receiving approval from President George Washington, Jefferson asked his charge d'affaires in Paris, William Short, to see the project to fruition, suggesting either Duvivier or Dupré as likely authors of the medal, as they "seem to be the best workmen, perhaps the last is the best of the two."

Though well versed in the ways and means of diplomatic gift exchange, Jefferson reached out to William Temple Franklin for advice on the subject. Franklin answered in long form on April 27, 1790. He told Jefferson that "these presents vary as to their nature, consisting either of jewels, plate [i.e. precious metal], tapestry, porcelain, and sometimes money." He also described Benjamin Franklin's gifts to the French Introducer and his assistant, the latter receiving "a rouleau of fifty Louis d'ors," perhaps the earliest reference to a roll of coins yet discovered.

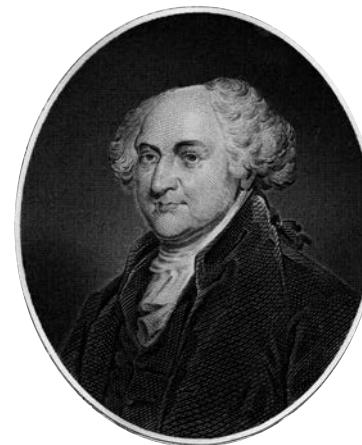
Jefferson apparently wasted no time. The memorandum in the Jefferson papers entitled "Formula for American Presidents to Foreign Diplomats" appears to be the compiled notes Jefferson made after receiving William Temple Franklin's letter, though the memorandum is undated. Jefferson wrote that "our present" should "consist of a gold medal of 30 lines, the metal in which will be worth about 150 dollars and a gold chain of about 850 doll[ars] value, supposing the minister to have stayed here 7 years." He may have shared the notes with Washington in some form, as Washington recorded in his diary on April 29, 1790, that he had "fixed with the Secretary of State on the present which (according to the custom of other Nations) should be made to Diplomatic characters when they return from that employment in this Country." Apparently inspired by the gift given to John Adams by The Netherlands, Washington recorded that "this was a gold Medal, suspended to a gold Chain -- in ordinary to be of the value of about 120 or 130 guineas." The enormous gold medal Adams received survives, preserved in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It was further described by Washington as "a medal & chain of the value of, in common, 150 or 180 guineas the value of which to be increased by an additional weight in the chain when they wished to mark a distinguished character," echoing much of the language of Jefferson's memorandum. "The reason why a medal & chain was fixed upon for the American present," Washington wrote, "is, that the die being



Washington's inauguration at Philadelphia by J.L.G. Ferris. (Library of Congress)

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection



once made, the medals could at any time be struck at very little cost, & the chain made by our own artisans, which (while the first should be retained as a memento) might be converted into cash."

The day after Washington journaled about his conversation on the subject of diplomatic gifts with his secretary of State, Jefferson filled his inkwell and wrote to both his charge d'affaires in Paris, William Short, and the French ambassador, the Marquis de la Luzerne, to describe the planned medals. The idea was barely hatched, no engraver had been hired, and no gold had been acquired, yet Jefferson could not wait to describe his plan. His rush was ill-advised, however, as no medals would be struck for nearly two years.

Jefferson's casual notes mention three potential recipients of these gold medals for diplomats, namely the Marquis de la Luzerne, the Comte de Moustier, and "Old Mr. Van Berkel" of The Netherlands. Though William Short later recorded receiving just two gold medals for distribution, Adams and Bentley (*Comitia Americana and Related Medals*, 2007) used Jefferson's early memo as evidence that three specimens were struck (one for each of the above named potential recipients). Presumably, given the careful penny-pinching nature of the United States government at this point, as well as the borderline obsessive bookkeeping of Jefferson, had more than two been struck in gold, there would be a financial paper trail. Adams and Bentley make a further assertion that there were potentially four gold medals struck, basing this on a May 1793 missive from Jefferson to Washington that included a draft of a letter from Jefferson to French ambassador Jean-Baptiste Ternant, to which was appended a version of the previously described Jefferson memorandum. The language of that appendix gave a ballpark idea of the potential weight of a medal for Ternant if one was to be struck, giving his length of service, in Jefferson's words, as "1 3/4 (say 2)," clearly a back-of-the-envelope style arithmetic intended to show Washington the potential costs involved. Alas, the paperwork that has survived from Jefferson, Washington, and William Short appears to indicate the sum total of two gold specimens of the Diplomatic Medal were struck, no more. The invoice William Short received on January 31, 1792, included

charges for two "medailles d'or" and the letter Short sent to Jefferson on February 8, 1792, noted plainly, "I had only two gold medals struck." Those two gold medals, given to the Frenchmen Luzerne and de Moustier, are untraced, almost certainly lost in the upheaval of the French Revolution.

The same February 8 letter from Short to Jefferson also noted "the six of bronze will await your orders," the same six bronze medals that were listed on the January 31 invoice. Of those six, four appear to have survived. The French-American numismatist and geologist Jules Marcou reported that "Jacques E. Gatteaux, son of the distinguished engraver, exhibited to him two copies in bronze" in 1867, but both were destroyed, along with the rest of Gatteaux's collection, in the fires that engulfed Paris in May 1871. Marcou also saw a bronze specimen in the possession of Augustin Dupré's son Narcisse; the Dupré specimen has not been specifically traced, but it may be the example that William Sumner Appleton later owned, as Appleton was instrumental in acquiring other materials from Dupré for the Boston Public Library, including drawings, white metal cliches, and even a set of original dies for the Diplomatic Medal.

Obverse: The first version of the Great Seal of the United States ever executed in metallic form, correctly showing the olive branch of peace at dexter (eagle's right) and the arrows of war at sinister (eagle's left, viewer's right). The eagle holds a banner inscribed with the national motto E PLURIBUS UNUM in his beak and an escutcheon or shield is displayed on his breast. A glory of 13 stars is atop the obverse, and the legend THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA surrounds the arms at the periphery.

Reverse: An allegory of America, in her common guise as a Native American princess, holds a cornucopia or horn of plenty and gestures to bundles and a hogshead beside an anchor. She is approached by Mercury as Commerce, holding his caduceus. A ship representing Atlantic commerce and interactions with Europe is in his background. The legend TO PEACE AND COMMERCE is appropriate to the scene; the date July 4, 1776 is rendered in Roman numerals in the exergue.

Exceptionally Important (1792) United States Diplomatic Medal

Zigrosser: "It is so rare as to be almost legendary"

Perhaps The Finest Extant

Six Struck, Four Known



(Photo Enlarged)

2106

"1776" (1792) United States Diplomatic Medal. Loubat-19. Copper. Original. Paris Mint. 68.4 mm. 2414.8 grains. 6.1 - 6.5 mm. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain edge, unbored. Likely the finest known example of this medal of extraordinary historical importance. Lustrous gloss remains on attractive medium brown surfaces, with faded mint color clinging to devices and legends and

pleasing blue highlights across lightly reflective fields. Remarkably well preserved, with just scattered minor ticks and a nick under ERC of COMMERCE. A few light marks on the edge above ME of that word are well hidden from either side, and the rims are otherwise sound. With its smooth originality and exceptional eye appeal, this clearly surpasses both of the other specimens in private hands.

COMITIA AMERICANA AND RELATED MEDALS:

The John W. Adams Collection

There are only four surviving Diplomatic Medals. One is impounded — the Vermuele specimen at Princeton University — leaving just three in private hands. One of them has an ancient provenance: the Ford specimen, earlier from Colburn (1863) to Bushnell (1882) to Garrett (1981). Another has a short provenance: discovered in Belgium in 2013, auctioned on eBay, sold by John Kraljevich to the Cardinal Collection Educational Foundation, then sold publicly in our Rarities Auction of October 2015 as lot 3 for \$188,000. That piece is the only example among the surviving four to retain its original mount. The Ford piece was bored on its edge for a mount. This one was not.

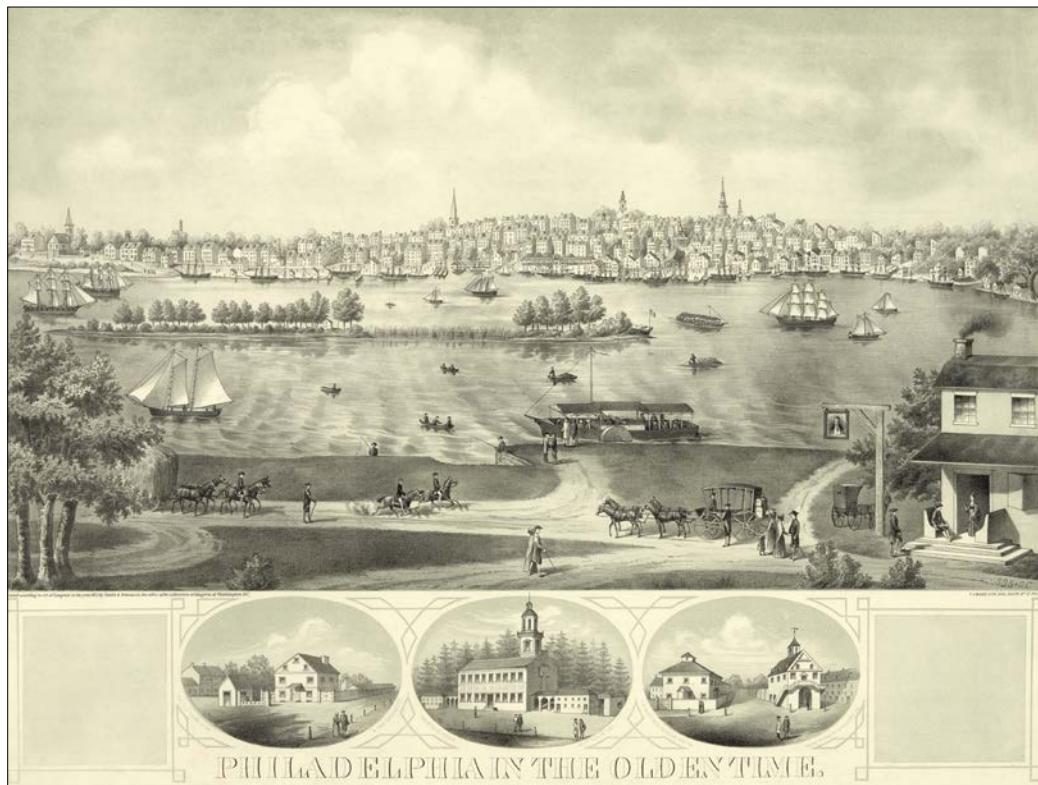
All four surviving specimens of the Diplomatic Medal are from the same die pair, representing the second obverse and the third reverse engraved by Augustin Dupré. The side with the Great Seal of the United States was termed the obverse by all characters involved in the medal's initial production. Perhaps due to the preponderance of similar eagles on the reverses of United States coins, this has been a point of some confusion for American numismatists in more modern times. The first obverse cracked early on, and no impressions have survived, though the die itself is preserved in the Boston Public Library. The second obverse was used to produce all four bronze examples known, and it undoubtedly struck the two gold medals as well. Adams and Bentley record eight different uniface tin clichés from that obverse. The reverses were even more finicky, as the first attempt broke in hardening and yielded just a single tin impression, last offered in our (Stack's) Ford V sale of October 2004. The second reverse die, also in the collection of the Boston Public Library, is said to have cracked during its first use. William Short's letter to Jefferson on November 21, 1791, reports that "the die for the diplomatic medal has again failed under the press. It resisted

only so as to take the first impression in silver," a puzzling citation as no silver medals are recorded in any other document of the era, nor have any survived. The Adams and Bentley census lists six uniface tin survivors from this die. The third and final reverse is seen on the four surviving bronze specimens, as well as three tin uniface clichés.

When Carl Zigrosser described the medals of Augustin Dupré in American collections in 1957 for the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, he ably narrated the history of this unique medallic endeavor. "The so-called Diplomatic Medal was the last executed by Dupré for the United States," he wrote. "It is so rare as to be almost legendary." He recounted Washington's order of a gold specimen and chain for the Marquis de la Luzerne on April 30, 1790 and his later request for another medal and chain for the Count de Moustier on March 2, 1791. "No further impressions were ordered struck," though, as Zigrosser noted, a few bronze examples are known.

This is the first medallic diplomatic effort the United States ever made, preceding even the George Washington oval Indian Peace medals. Its production bears the fingerprints of our greatest diplomat of the era, Thomas Jefferson, and the greatest medalist of his lifetime, Augustin Dupré. For a solid century, from 1882 and 1981, no original Diplomatic Medal sold publicly or privately. The modern generation of collectors has been blessed with opportunities to obtain one in 1981, 1990, 2004, and 2015. With the other two examples in strong hands, we do not expect another opportunity to acquire an example of this historical landmark to come as quickly next time.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's, via Tony Terranova, in August 1992. Earlier, from R.M. Smythe/NASCAs sale of October 1990, lot 3658.



Philadelphia in the Olden Time. Frederick J. Wade Lithographer. (Library of Congress)

Historic (1792) United States Diplomatic Medal Trial

Unique Impression of Reverse 1



2107

"1776" (1792) United States Diplomatic reverse progress cliché.
Loubat-19. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré or Paris Mint. 67.7 x 68.0 mm. 345.4 grains. 0.7 - 1.0 mm. **About Uncirculated.** Plain irregular edge. Backed with remnants of paper fiber. A progress proof of an unfinished reverse die (though this die has come to be recognized as an obverse, it was conceived as the reverse). This die is incomplete, but is distinguishable as neither of the known reverse dies that were seen through to completion. The main point of identification, first noted by our consignor, is the position of the Indian princess' left foot, which is nearly off her footstool here but is mostly on the footstool on the other two reverses. This device punch or hub appears to be largely the same as that used on the finished but unadopted reverse (seen on the next lot), as both have the same raised dot over the tip of the wing on the hat of Mercury (Commerce).

Our consignor's observations are spot on and bear publication here:

Of the 8 splashers in Ford, this one is the gem. Close examination reveals much about the engraver's technique. This being the only splasher from the die, it seems fair to assume that this design was the first reverse which cracked during hardening. Differences vs. 2nd reverse: Peace's left foot, more defined stomach muscles, and vertical drapery folds. On Commerce (Mercury), knee caps are defined and again so are stomach muscles.

To this we can add that the wings on Mercury's feet are not present here, making clear that this detail was hand added to each die rather than coming from a pre-engraved hub punch. Other fine details, like those seen on the feathers of the Indian princess' headdress or the decorative elements on the cornucopia, would also be added later by Dupré at a later state of the creation of the die. The grid lines, present here, would have been carefully smoothed away later, had this die survived.

While described as "lead" in the Ford V catalog, this cliché and others are composed of a mostly tin alloy. The surfaces are of excellent quality for a splasher but otherwise typical in appearance, mostly smooth and showing just the occasional scuff or defect. No corrosion is seen, and this piece remains flat and unbent. Its survival at all is as miraculous as its state of preservation.

This is a unique survivor from this die. Michael Hodder noted in his cataloging of the Ford V sale, this piece is "apparently identical to the impression in the Boston Public Library ex Dupré's family in 1888 described as plaster by [Julian] Boyd, clay by Appleton." It is not. While similar, that impression shows the wings on Mercury's feet, leaving this as completely one of a kind.

This piece bears witness to a portion of Dupré's process that would be utterly silent if it had not survived into the present.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part V, October 2004, lot 194. Earlier, "found in an old safety deposit box before 1953, believed ex Wayte Raymond."

Exceptional Diplomatic Medal Reverse Cliché

Finest of the Type in Private Hands



2108

"1776" (1792) United States Diplomatic reverse progress cliché. Loubat-19. White metal. Original. Workshop of Augustin Dupré or Paris Mint. 68.4 x 69.2 mm. 408.8 grains. 1.4 - 1.6 mm. Choice About Uncirculated. Plain irregular edge. Backed with paper, nearly complete but for a small lustrous area near 2:00. A cliché of exceptional quality, with smooth surfaces retaining some luster and exhibiting magnificent detail throughout. Areas of irregular trimming are seen at 1:00 and 10:00, as made, and the metal was somewhat fatigued and striated at the moment of striking left of the bales below the Indian princess's lower hand. The visual appeal is spectacular. Our consignor acquired this piece from the Ford V sale because it was the prettiest of those offered.

This is not the adopted reverse die. The die broke at some point, probably during hardening. It was preserved by Augustin Dupré and his son Narcisse, the latter of whom sold it (among other things) to the Boston Public Library in 1888. It remains there, though the BPL has no cliché made from it. The Adams and Bentley census, which appears complete, counts six known impressions from that die. The example in the Musée d'Art et d'Industrie in Saint-Entienne, France may have been made from the broken die, or the cliché itself may have just been mangled after striking; it's tough to tell from the illustration on p. 126 of Trogan and Sorel. The American Numismatic Society, Massachusetts Historical Society

(ex Appleton), and Smithsonian Institution (ex Stack's September 1987, lot 96) all hold examples from this die, but only two are known in private hands: this one and the one that preceded it in the Ford V sale as lot 195, now in a private New York collection.

The number of surviving Diplomatic Medal clichés, perhaps 19 in all, is vastly larger than the surviving total of clichés for most of Dupré's American-related medals. This reflects two facts: there were two obverses and three reverses and they kept breaking during hardening, and this medal was considered of top-line importance to the American government. One can imagine William Short huddling with Dupré over these clichés and nervously approving them knowing the weight Thomas Jefferson placed upon this project. The vast majority of those clichés are today in strong institutional hands. Of the 11 held privately (one of which is unaccounted for since 1920), eight were in the Ford V sale. Just because collectors today happen to have been alive when that hoard surfaced, they should not consider these clichés as common; they are not. Even if they were, their historical importance could readily overcome it.

Please see our Note on Trials on page 10.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Stack's sale of the John J. Ford, Jr. Collection, Part V, October 2004, lot 194. Earlier, "found in an old safety deposit box before 1953, believed ex Wayte Raymond."



2109

"1776" (after 1876) United States Diplomatic medal. Loubat-19, Julian CM-15. Copper. U.S. Mint copy dies by Barber (1876). Philadelphia Mint. 67.9 mm. 2432.4 grains. 6.0 - 6.3 mm. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. A beautifully made and very well preserved specimen, with ideal mahogany bronzing that shows slight attractive variation in tone on the obverse, as made. The reverse is glossy and lightly reflective while the obverse shows a more typical slightly matte finish. Aside from two trivial specks below O of COMMERCE and one above the second M, this is choice and problem free.

This is a very scarce medal. A single silver specimen is recorded on the mintage figures for the 1876/77 fiscal year, likely the one sent in April 1876 to Professor Jules Marcou, who supplied his original Diplomatic Medal clichés to the U.S. Mint to serve as models for William Barber's copy dies. According to Mint records, just 65 pieces were struck in copper from these dies between 1876 and 1904. Originals are beyond the realm of possibility for most, making this version of the Diplomatic Medal a very desirable item. The Chapmans bitterly called this production a "US Mint counterfeit" after they failed to sell their original to the Mint Collection.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Goldberg Coins and Collectibles' sale of June 2016, lot 1211.

Rare U.S. Mint Diplomatic Medal in Silver



2110

"1776" (i.e. early 20th century) United States Diplomatic medal. Loubat-19, Julian-CM-15. Silver. U.S. Mint copy dies by Barber (1876). Philadelphia Mint. 67.4 mm. 2739.2 grains. 5.0 - 5.1 mm. Choice Mint State. Plain square edge. Struck with a matte finish and an even pale silver gray patina from Barber's copy dies, presumably in the early 20th century. Our consignor suggests this may have been made to order for Ed Rice, who notably ordered silver strikes of Indian Peace medals and other Mint list medals in the 1940s,

many of which are unique or nearly so in this finish. This is the only silver Diplomatic Medal we have ever encountered, either with this matte finish or any other. A prime rarity of significant importance to the growing number of collectors who appreciate the 20th century productions of the United States Mint.

From the John W. Adams Collection. Acquired from Presidential Coin and Antique Company's 53rd Sale, December 1992, lot 345.

END OF SESSION 3

Bidding Increments

Bid	Bid Increment
\$0-\$99	\$5.00
\$100-\$199	\$10.00
\$200-\$499	\$20.00
\$500-\$999	\$50.00
\$1,000-\$1,999	\$100.00
\$2,000-\$4,999	\$200.00
\$5,000-\$9,999	\$500.00
\$10,000-\$19,999	\$1,000.00
\$20,000-\$49,999	\$2,000.00
\$50,000-\$99,999	\$5,000.00
\$100,000-\$199,999	\$10,000.00
\$200,000-\$499,999	\$20,000.00
\$500,000-\$999,999	\$50,000.00
\$1,000,000-\$1,999,999	\$100,000.00
\$2,000,000+	\$200,000.00

Bank Wire Information:

For Domestic (U.S.) Banks, please direct your bank wire transfer to:

Bank Name: CIT Bank N.A.
ABA/Routing#: 322270288
Account Name: Stack's Bowers Numismatics LLC

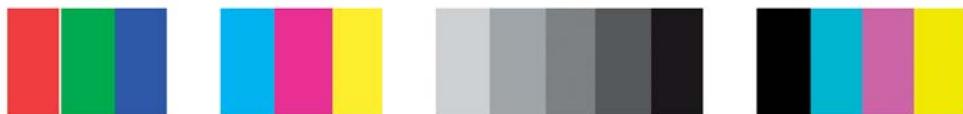
Address: 75 N. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena, CA 91103
Account Number: 1311011385

For Foreign Banks*, please direct your bank wire transfer to:

Bank Name: OneWest Bank, N.A.
International Swift Code: OWBKUS6L
Account Name: Stacks Bowers Numismatics LLC

Address: 75 N. Fair Oaks Ave., Pasadena, CA 91103
Account Number: 1311011385

*Bank wires sent from a foreign bank are subject to an international bank wire fee of \$35. If an international order will be settled using a different form of payment, please contact us by phone or email to have the wire fee removed. If the wire will be sent in any currency other than USD, Stack's Bowers Galleries needs to be contacted prior to the transfer in order to arrange for an intermediary bank.



Terms & Conditions – Showcase and Collectors Choice Auctions

1. Auction Basics. This is a public auction sale (“Auction Sale”) conducted by bonded auctioneers, Stack’s Bowers Galleries or Stack’s Bowers and Ponterio (hereinafter referred to as “Auctioneer” and at times as “Stack’s Bowers”). Bidding in this Auction Sale constitutes acceptance by you (“Bidder”) of all the Terms of Sale stated herein. Bidders may include consignors who may bid and purchase lots in the Auction Sale consigned by the consignor or by other consignors pursuant to their consignment agreement with Stack’s Bowers (“Consignor” or “Consignors”). A Consignor that bids on their own lots in the Auction Sale may pay a different fee than the Buyer’s Premium charged to all other Buyers. Stack’s Bowers reserves the right to include in any auction sale its own material as well as material from affiliated or related companies, principals, officers or employees. Stack’s Bowers may have direct or indirect interests in any of the lots in the auction and may collect commissions. **THE TWO PRECEDING SENTENCES SHALL BE DEEMED A PART OF THE DESCRIPTION OF ALL LOTS CONTAINED IN THE CATALOG.** Where the Consignor has repurchased a lot and the lot is either returned to the Consignor or otherwise dealt with or disposed of in accordance with the Consignor’s direction, or pursuant to contractual agreement, Stack’s Bowers reserves the right to so note in the prices realized or to omit a price from the prices realized. Stack’s Bowers and its affiliates may bid for their own account at any auction. Stack’s Bowers and its affiliates may have information about any lot that is not known publicly, and Stack’s Bowers and its affiliates reserves the right to use such information, in a manner determined solely by them and for their benefit, without disclosing such information in the catalog, catalog description or at the auction. Bidder acknowledges and agrees that Stack’s Bowers and its affiliates are not required to pay a Buyer’s Premium, or other charges that other Bidders may be required to pay and may have access to information concerning the lots that is not otherwise available to the public. Any claimed conflict of interest or claimed competitive advantage resulting therefrom is expressly waived by all participants in the Auction Sale. Lots may carry a reserve (“Reserve”). A Reserve is a price or bid below which the Auctioneer will not sell an item or will repurchase on behalf of the Consignor or for Stack’s Bowers. Reserves may be confidential and not disclosed. The Buyer is the Bidder who makes the highest bid accepted by the Auctioneer, and includes the principal of any Bidder acting as an agent.

2. Descriptions and Grading. Bidder acknowledges that grading of most coins and currency in this Auction has been determined by independent grading services, and those that are not may be graded by Stack’s Bowers. Grading of rare coins and currency is subjective and, even though grading has a material effect on the value of the coins and currency, grading may differ among independent grading services and among numismatists. Stack’s Bowers is not responsible for the grades assigned by independent grading services, and makes no warranty or representation regarding such grades. Bidder further acknowledges and agrees that grades assigned by Stack’s Bowers and lot descriptions are based solely upon an examination of the coins and currency and are intended to identify coins and currency and note any perceived characteristics. However, coin grading and descriptions are subjective. Stack’s Bowers does not warrant the accuracy of such grading or descriptions, nor do they in any way form the basis for any bid. All photographs in this catalog are of the actual items being sold but may not be the actual size or to scale.

3. The Bidding Process. The Auctioneer shall have the right to open or accept the bidding on any lot by placing a bid on behalf of the Consignor or his or her agent; a Bidder by mail, telephone, Internet or telefax; or any other participant in the Auction Sale. Bids must be for an entire lot and each lot constitutes a separate sale. All bids must be on increment as established by the Auctioneer, or half increment (a cut bid). Non-conforming bids will be rounded down to the nearest full increment and this rounded bid will be the bidder’s high bid. No lot will be broken up unless otherwise permitted by the Auctioneer. Lots will be sold in their numbered sequence unless Auctioneer directs otherwise. All material shall be sold in separate lots to the highest Bidder as determined by the Auctioneer. Auctioneer shall have the right in its sole and absolute discretion to accept or decline any bid, establish bid increments, challenge any bid or bidding increment, to reduce any mail bid received, adjudicate all bidding disputes, to exclude any bidder and to determine the prevailing bid. The Auctioneer shall have the right, but not the obligation, to rescind the acceptance of any bid and place the lot(s) for Auction Sale again. Auctioneer’s decision on all bidding disputes shall be binding and final. For the mail and Internet Bidder’s protection, no “unlimited” or “buy” bids will be accepted. When identical bids are received for a lot, preference is given to the first bid received as determined by the Auctioneer. A mail bid will take precedence over an identical floor bid; a Floor Bidder, Telephone Bidder and Live Internet Bidder

must bid higher than the highest mail bid to be awarded any lot. Cut bids are only accepted on bids greater than \$500 and each bidder may only execute one cut bid per lot. Bids will not be accepted from persons under eighteen (18) years of age without a parent’s written consent which acknowledges the Terms of Sale herein and agrees to be bound thereby on behalf of the underage Bidder. The auction sale is complete when the Auctioneer so announces by the fall of the hammer or in any other customary manner.

THIS IS NOT AN APPROVAL SALE. Bidders who physically attend the Auction sale, either personally or through an agent (“Floor Bidders”) should carefully examine all lots which they are interested in purchasing. Bidders who bid by telephone, either personally or through an agent, or through our live auction software receive a similar benefit as Floor Bidders in being able to actively participate in the live Auction Sale (“Telephone Bidders” and “Live Internet Bidders”). Except as otherwise expressly provided in these Terms of Sale, NO PURCHASED ITEMS MAY BE RETURNED FOR ANY REASON. All prospective Bidders who examine the lot(s) prior to the Auction Sale personally assume all responsibility for any damage that Bidder causes to the lot(s). Stack’s Bowers shall have sole discretion in determining the value of the damage caused, which shall be promptly paid by such Bidder.

Certain auctions or auction sessions, will be conducted exclusively over the Internet, and bids will be accepted only from pre-registered Bidders.

STACK’S BOWERS IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR ANY ERRORS IN BIDDING. All Bidders should make certain to bid on the correct lot and that the bid is the bid intended. Once the hammer has fallen and the Auctioneer has announced the Buyer, the Buyer is unconditionally bound to pay for the lot, even if the Buyer made a mistake. Stack’s Bowers reserves the right to withdraw any lot at any time, even after the hammer has fallen, until the Buyer has taken physical possession of the lot. No participant in the Auction Sale shall have a right to claim any damages, including consequential damages if a lot is withdrawn, even if the withdrawal occurs after the Auction Sale.

4. Bidder Registration Required. All persons seeking to bid must complete and sign a registration card either at the auction or online, or otherwise qualify to bid, as determined in the sole discretion of the Auctioneer. By submitting a bid, the Bidder acknowledges that Bidder has read the Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale, the descriptions for the lot(s) on which they have bid, and that they agree to be bound by these Terms of Sale. This agreement shall be deemed to have been made and entered in California. The Bidder acknowledges that the invoice describing a lot by number incorporates the catalog and Terms of Sale. Person appearing on the OFAC list are not eligible to bid.

5. Buyer’s Premiums. A premium of twenty percent (20%) based upon the total amount of the hammer (minimum of \$20), will be added to all purchases of individual lots, regardless of affiliation with any group or organization (the “Buyer’s Premium”). A reacquisition charge may apply to Consignors pursuant to a separate agreement, which may be higher or lower than the Buyer’s Premium.

6. Payment. Payment is due immediately upon the fall of the auctioneer’s hammer. Payment is delinquent and in default if not received in full, in good funds, within fourteen (14) calendar days of the Auction Sale (the “Default Date”), without exception, time being of the essence. Unless otherwise agreed in writing prior to the Auction Sale, all auction sales are payable strictly in U.S. Dollars, Hong Kong Dollars or Chinese Renminbi. All invoices will be made in United States Dollars. If paying in Hong Kong Dollars or Chinese Renminbi, Buyer’s invoices will be credited with the amount of U.S. Dollars received from Auctioneer’s bank. Payments may be made by credit card, Paypal, Union Pay, check, wire transfer, money order and cashier’s check. Cash transactions will be accepted in the sole discretion of Stack’s Bowers, and if accepted, for any cash transaction or series of transactions exceeding \$10,000, a Treasury Form 8300 will be filed. Contact Stack’s Bowers for wiring instructions before sending a wire. Bank wires sent from a foreign bank are subject to an international bank wire fee of \$35. We accept payment by Visa, MasterCard, American Express, Discover or Paypal for invoices up to \$2,500, with a maximum of \$10,000 in any 30 day period. All payments are subject to a clearing period. Checks drawn on U.S. banks will be subject to up to a 10 business day hold, and checks drawn on foreign banks will be subject to a 30 day hold. Stack’s Bowers reserves the right not to release lots for which good funds have not yet been received. On any past due accounts, Stack’s Bowers reserves the right, without notice, to extend credit and impose carrying charges (as described

Terms & Conditions – Showcase and Collectors Choice Auctions (cont.)

below). Buyers agree to pay reasonable attorney's fees and cost incurred to collect past due accounts. Any invoice not paid by the Default Date will bear a five percent (5%) late fee on the invoice amount. Buyers personally and unconditionally guarantee payment in full of all amounts owed to Stack's Bowers. Any person submitting bids on behalf of a corporation or other entity, by making such bid, agrees to be personally jointly and severally liable for the payment of the purchase price and any related charges and the performance of all Buyer obligations under these Terms of Sale and Stack's Bowers reserves the right to require a written guarantee of such payments and obligations. Bidders who have not established credit with Stack's Bowers must furnish satisfactory information and credit references and/or deposit at least twenty-five percent (25%) of their total bids for that Auction Sale session(s) or such other amount as Stack's Bowers may, in its sole and absolute discretion require before any bids from such Bidder will be accepted. Deposits submitted will be applied to purchases. Any remaining deposits will be promptly refunded, upon clearance of funds.

7. Sales Tax. Buyers will be charged all applicable sales tax unless a valid Resale Certificate has been provided to the Auctioneer prior to the auction. Should state sales tax become applicable in the delivery state prior to delivery of the property on the invoice, the Buyer agrees to pay all applicable state sales tax as required by the delivery state as of the shipping date. In the event any applicable sales tax is not paid by Buyer that should have been paid, even if not such tax was not charged or collected by Stack's Bowers by mistake, error, negligence or gross negligence, Buyer nonetheless acknowledges responsibility to pay such sales tax and remains fully liable for and agrees to promptly pay such taxes on demand, together with any interest or penalty that may be assessed by the taxing authority and agrees to indemnify and hold Auctioneer harmless from any applicable sales tax, interest or penalties due. Lots from different Auctions may not be aggregated for sales tax purposes.

8. Financial Responsibility. In the event any applicable conditions of these Terms of Sale herein are not complied with by a Buyer or if the Buyer fails to make payment in full by the Default Date, Stack's Bowers reserves the right, in its sole discretion, in addition to all other remedies which it may have at law or in equity to rescind the sale of that lot or any other lot or lots sold to the defaulting Buyer, retaining all payments made by Buyer as liquidated damages, it being recognized that actual damages may be speculative or difficult to compute, and resell a portion or all of the lots held by Stack's Bowers, in a commercially reasonable manner, which may include a public or private sale, in a quantity sufficient in the opinion of Stack's Bowers to satisfy the indebtedness, plus all accrued charges, and Stack's Bowers may charge a seller's commission that is commercially reasonable. More than one such sale may take place at the option of Stack's Bowers. If Stack's Bowers resells the lots, Buyer agrees to pay for the reasonable cost of such sale, together with any incidental costs of sale, including reasonable attorney's fees and costs, cataloging and any other reasonable charges. Notice of the sale shall be by U.S.P.S. Certified Mail, Return Receipt Requested to the address utilized on the Bid Sheet, Auction Consignment and Security Agreement or other last known address by Stack's Bowers. The proceeds shall be applied first to the satisfaction of any damages occasioned by Buyer's breach, then to any other indebtedness owed to Stack's Bowers, including without limitation, commissions, handling charges, carrying charges, the expenses of both sales, seller's fees, reasonable attorneys' fees, costs, collection agency fees and costs and any other costs or expenses incurred. Buyer shall also be liable to Stack's Bowers for any deficiency if the proceeds of such sale or sales are insufficient to cover such amounts.

Buyer grants to Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees, the right to offset any sums due, or found to be due to Stack's Bowers, and to make such offset from any past, current, or future consignment, or purchases that are in the possession or control of Stack's Bowers; or from any sums due to Buyer by Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees. In addition, defaulting Buyers will be deemed to have granted to Stack's Bowers, its affiliates and assignees, a security interest in: (x) the purchased lots and their proceeds, and (y) such sums or other items and their proceeds, in the possession of Stack's Bowers, its affiliates or assignees, to secure all indebtedness due to Stack's Bowers and its affiliated companies, plus all accrued expenses, carrying charges, seller's fees, attorney fees, and costs, until the indebtedness is paid in full. Buyer grants Stack's Bowers the right to file a UCC-1 financing statement for such items, and to assign such interest to any affiliated or related company or any third party deemed appropriate by Stack's Bowers. If the auction invoice is not paid for in full by the Default Date, a carrying charge of one-and-one-half percent (1-1/2%) per month may be imposed on the unpaid amount until it is paid in full. In the event this interest rate exceeds the interest

permitted by law, the same shall be adjusted to the maximum rate permitted by law, and any amount paid in excess thereof shall be allocated to principal. Buyer agrees to pay all reasonable attorney's fees, court costs and other collection costs incurred by Stack's Bowers or any affiliated or related company to collect past due invoices or to interpret or enforce the terms hereof or in any action or proceeding arising out of or related to the Auction Sale. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to assign its interest to any third party. To the extent that the Buyer for any lot consists of more than one person or entity, each such person or entity is jointly and severally liable for all obligations of the Buyer, regardless of the title or capacity of such person or entity. Stack's Bowers shall have all the rights of a secured creditor under Article 9 of the California Commercial Code and all rights of the consignor to collect amounts due from the Buyer, whether at law or equity.

9. Shipping. It is the Buyer's responsibility to contact Stack's Bowers after the sale to make shipping and packaging arrangements. Due to the fragile nature of some lots, Stack's Bowers may elect not to assume responsibility for shipping or packing, or may charge additional shipping and handling. Lots indicated as being "framed" or that are specifically identified in the catalog are shipped at Buyer's risk. All taxes, postage, shipping, if applicable, handling, insurance costs, the Buyer's Premium, and any other fees required by law to be charged or collected will be added to the invoice for any lots invoiced to Buyer. All lots shipped to foreign countries will be billed an additional one-half percent (1/2%) for insurance (minimum of \$10). For any lots delivered outside the United States, the declaration value shall be the item(s) hammer price plus its buyer's premium. Auctioneer shall not be liable for any loss caused or resulting from seizure or destruction under quarantine or customs regulation or confiscation by order of any government or public authority. Buyer shall be responsible for paying all applicable taxes, duties and customs charges for all lots delivered outside the United States. All lots will be shipped FOB Destination, freight prepaid and charged back. Title and risk of loss pass to the Buyer at the destination upon tender of delivery. Acceptance of delivery constitutes acceptance of the purchased lots. Inspection of the purchased lots is not required for acceptance. Any and all claims based upon Buyer's failure to receive a purchased lot, Buyer's receipt of a lot in damaged condition, or otherwise related to delivery, must be received in writing by Stack's Bowers no later than the earlier of thirty (30) days after payment, or the date of the Auction Sale (the "Outside Claim Date"). As Buyers may not receive notification of shipment, it is Buyer's responsibility to keep track of the Outside Claim Date and make timely notification of any such claim. The failure to make a timely claim, time being of the essence, shall constitute a waiver of any such claim. Orders paid by credit card will only be shipped to the verified address on file with the credit card merchant.

10. DISCLAIMER AND WARRANTIES. NO WARRANTY OF MERCHANTABILITY OR FITNESS FOR A PARTICULAR PURPOSE IS MADE OR IMPLIED ON ANY LOT. NO WARRANTY, WHETHER EXPRESSED OR IMPLIED, IS MADE WITH RESPECT TO ANY LOT EXCEPT FOR WARRANTY OF TITLE, AND IN THE CASE OF TITLE, AUCTIONEER IS SELLING ONLY THAT RIGHT OR TITLE TO THE LOT THAT THE CONSIGNOR MAY HAVE AS OF THE AUCTION SALE DATE. ALL LOTS ARE SOLD "AS IS" AND WITH ALL FAULTS. PURCHASER HEREBY ASSUMES ALL RISKS CONCERNING AND RELATED TO THE GRADING, QUALITY, DESCRIPTION, CONDITION, AND PROVENANCE OF A LOT.

a. COINS AND CURRENCY LISTED IN THIS CATALOG GRADED AND ENCAPSULATED BY PCGS, NGC, ANACS, ICG, PCGS CURRENCY, PMG, PCGS BANKNOTE GRADING, CMC OR ANY OTHER THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE MAY NOT BE RETURNED FOR ANY REASON WHATSOEVER BY ANY BUYER. ALL THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE GUARANTEES, INCLUDING AUTHENTICITY, ARE THE SOLE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE THIRD PARTY GRADING SERVICE AND NOT WARRANTIES OR GUARANTEES OF THE AUCTIONEER.

b. In the case of non-certified coins and currency that have neither been examined by the Buyer prior to the Auction Sale, nor purchased by the Buyer or Buyer's agent at the Auction Sale, if it is determined in a review by Stack's Bowers that there is a material error in the catalog description of a non-certified coin or currency, such lot may be returned, provided written notice is received by Stack's Bowers no later than seventy-two (72) hours of delivery of the lots in question, and such lots are returned and received by Stack's Bowers, in their original, sealed containers, no later than fourteen (14) calendar days after delivery, in the same condition the lot(s) were delivered to the Buyer, time being of the essence. Non-certified coins and currency that have been

Terms & Conditions – Showcase and Collectors Choice Auctions (cont.)

either examined by the Buyer prior to the Auction Sale or purchased by the Buyer or Buyer's agent at the Auction Sale, will not be granted return privileges, except for authenticity.

- c. All non-certified coins and currency are guaranteed to be genuine.
- d. If an item or items are returned pursuant to the terms herein, they must be housed in their original, sealed and unopened container.
- e. Late remittance or removal of any item from its original container, or altering a coin constitutes just cause for revocation of all return privileges.
- f. Grading or condition of rare coins and currency may have a material effect on the value of the item(s) purchased, and the opinion of others (including independent grading services) may differ with the independent grading services opinion or interpretation of Stack's Bowers. Stack's Bowers shall not be bound by any prior, or subsequent opinion, determination or certification by any independent grading service.
- g. Questions regarding the minting of a coin as a "proof" or as a "business strike" relate to the method of manufacture and not to authenticity.
- h. All oral and written statements made by Stack's Bowers and its employees or agents (including affiliated and related companies) are statements of opinion only, and are not warranties or representations of any kind, unless stated as a specific written warranty, and no employee or agent of Stack's Bowers has authority to vary or alter these Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to vary or alter the Terms of Sale, either generally or with respect to specific persons or circumstances, in its sole discretion. Any variation or alteration shall be effective only if in writing and signed by an officer of Stack's Bowers authorized to do so.
- i. Stack's Bowers is acting as an auctioneer. Title to the lots purchased passes directly from the Consignor to the Buyer. Accordingly, Stack's Bowers is not making, and disclaims, any warranty of title.
- j. Bidders shall have no recourse against the Consignor for any reason whatsoever.
- k. Bidder acknowledges that the numismatic market is speculative, unregulated and volatile, and that coin prices may rise or fall over time. Stack's Bowers does not guarantee or represent that any customer buying for investment purposes will be able to sell for a profit in the future.
- l. Bidder acknowledges and agrees that neither Stack's Bowers, nor its employees, affiliates, agents, third-party providers or consignors warrant that auctions will be unimpaired, uninterrupted or error free and accordingly shall not be liable for such events.
- 11. Waiver and Release. Bidder, for himself, his heirs, agents, successors and assignees, generally and specifically waives and releases, and forever discharges Stack's Bowers, and its respective affiliates, parents, officers, directors, shareholders, agents, subsidiaries, employees, managers and members and each of them, and their respective successors and assignees from any and all claims, rights, demands and causes of actions and suits, of whatever kind or nature, including but not limited to claims based upon Auctioneer's negligence, whether in law or equity, tort or otherwise, whether known or unknown, suspected or unsuspected (a "Claim"), which Bidder may assert with respect to and/or arising out of, or in connection with any challenge to the title to or authenticity of any goods purchased, the sale itself, any lot bid upon or consigned, and/or the auction, except where such Claim is otherwise expressly authorized in these Terms of Sale. It is the intention of Bidder that this waiver and release shall be effective as a bar to each and every Claim that may arise hereunder or be related to the Auction Sale, and Bidder hereby knowingly and voluntarily waives any and all rights and benefits otherwise conferred upon him by the provisions of Section 1542 of the California Civil Code, which reads in full as follows:

"A GENERAL RELEASE DOES NOT EXTEND TO CLAIMS WHICH THE CREDITOR OR RELEASING PARTY DOES NOT KNOW OR SUSPECT TO EXIST IN HIS OR HER FAVOR AT THE TIME OF EXECUTING THE RELEASE, WHICH IF KNOWN BY HIM OR HER MUST HAVE MATERIALLY AFFECTED HIS OR HER SETTLEMENT WITH THE DEBTOR OR RELEASED PARTY."

- 12. Disputes. If a dispute arises concerning ownership of a lot or concerning proceeds of any sale, Stack's Bowers reserves the right to commence a statutory inter-pleader proceeding at the expense of the Consignor and Buyer and any other applicable

party, and in such event shall be entitled to its reasonable attorneys' fees and costs. Stack's Bowers reserves the right to cancel or postpone the Auction Sale or any session thereof for any reason whatsoever. No Bidder shall have any claim as a result thereof, including for incidental or consequential damages. Neither Stack's Bowers nor any affiliated or related company shall be responsible for incidental or consequential damages arising out of any failure of the Terms of Sale, the auction or the conduct thereof and in no event shall such liability exceed the purchase price, premium, or fees paid. Rights granted to Bidders under the within Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale are personal and apply only to the Bidder who initially purchases the lot(s) from Stack's Bowers. The rights may not be assigned or transferred to any other person or entity, whether by sale of the lot(s), operation of law or otherwise. Any attempt to assign or transfer any such rights shall be absolutely void and unenforceable. No third party may rely on any benefit or right conferred by these Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale.

Any dispute arising out of or related to these Terms of Sale, the Auction Sale or any lot, with the sole exception of actions by Stack's Bowers to collect amounts owed to it and other damages, shall be submitted to binding arbitration pursuant to the commercial arbitration rules of the American Arbitration Association, with any arbitration hearing to occur in Orange County, California. Absent an agreement of the parties, the arbitrator shall limit discovery to that which is necessary to enable the hearing to proceed efficiently. The arbitrator shall not have the power to award punitive or consequential damages, nor alter, amend or modify any of the terms of this Agreement. The award by the arbitrator, if any, may be entered in any court having jurisdiction thereof. Each party shall pay one-half the costs of the arbitration. Bidder acknowledges and agrees that the competent courts of the State of California shall have exclusive in personam jurisdiction, subject to the requirement to arbitrate, over any dispute(s) arising hereunder, regardless of any party's current or future residence or domicile. Bidder further agrees that venue of the arbitration proceeding shall be in Orange County, California; and any court proceeding shall be in the Orange County Superior Court, in the State of California, and in each case waive any claim of Forum Non Conveniens. Bidder agrees that any arbitration or legal action with respect to this Auction Sale is barred unless commenced within one (1) year of the date of this Auction Sale. AUC-TION PARTICIPANTS EXPRESSLY WAIVE ANY RIGHT TO TRIAL BY JURY.

13. General Terms. These Terms and Conditions of Auction Sale and the auction shall be construed and enforced in accordance with, and governed by, the laws of the State of California, regardless of the location of the Auction Sale. These Terms of Sale and the information on the Stack's Bowers' website constitute the entire agreement between the parties hereto on the subject matter hereof and supersede all other agreements, understandings, warranties and representations concerning the subject matter hereof. If any section of these Terms of Auction Sale or any term or provision of any section is held to be invalid, void, or unenforceable by any court of competent jurisdiction, the remaining sections or terms and provisions of a section shall continue in full force and effect without being impaired or invalidated in any way. Stack's Bowers may at its sole and absolute discretion, make loans or advances to Consignors and/or Bidders.

14. Chinese Translation. The Chinese translations are provided as a matter of convenience. In the event of a conflict, all English Terms and Conditions and lot descriptions take precedence and are binding.

Bidding in this auction sale constitutes unconditional acceptance by the Bidder of the foregoing terms of sale.

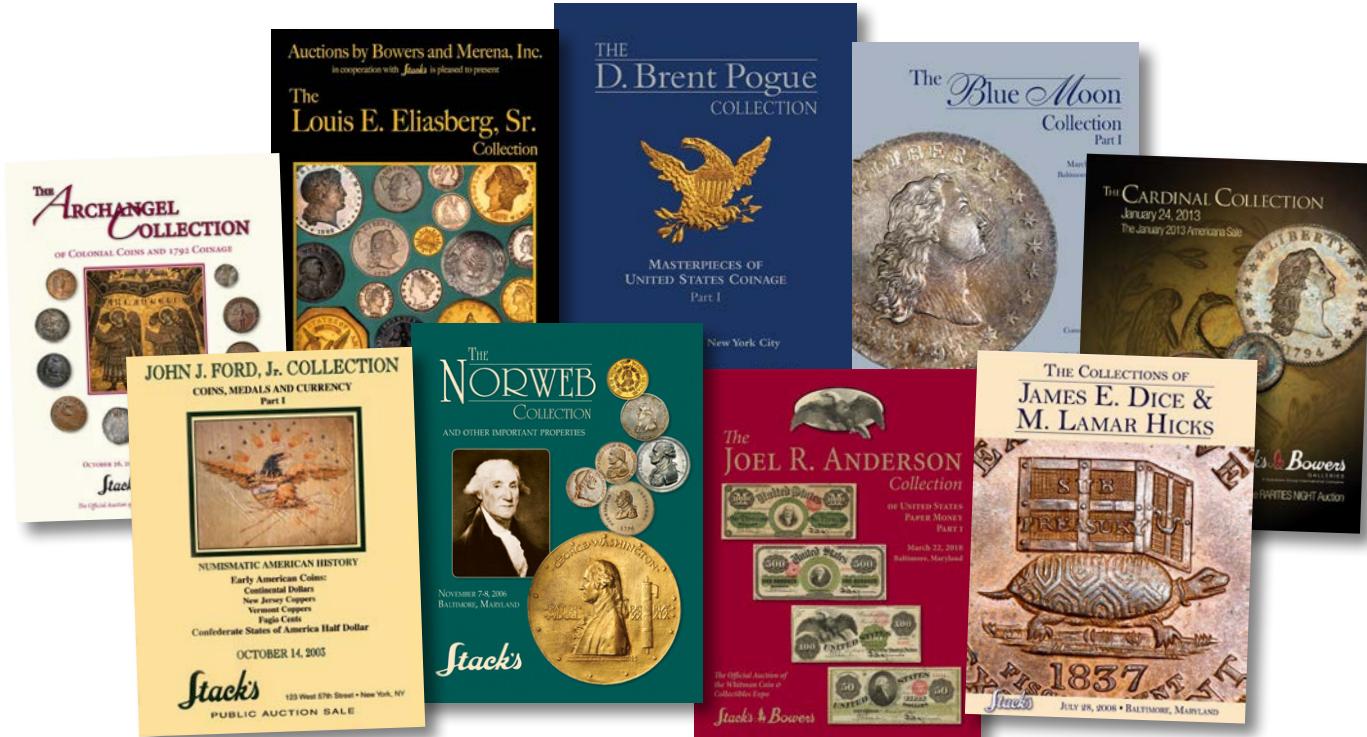
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PCGS and NGC numbers provided are for bidder convenience only, we do not guarantee their accuracy. An incorrect PCGS or NGC number is not grounds to return a lot.

For PRICES REALIZED after the sale, call 1-800-458-4646. Preliminary prices realized will also be posted on the Internet soon after the session closes.

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